

ANDREW W. LIND

# SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

*Published by the*  
**SOCIOLOGY CLUB**

*in collaboration with*  
**THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY  
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VOLUME IV

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Published by the Sociology Club  
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VOLUME IV

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## THE SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

### FOREWORD

DOUGLAS YAMAMURA

This volume of *Social Process in Hawaii* is the result of an experiment in cooperative study of the Island situation conducted by students of the Sociology Club in collaboration with the faculty of the Sociology Department of the University of Hawaii. The purpose of this issue, as of previous issues, is to meet the growing need for the dissemination of sociological research materials on Hawaii and to contribute some little measure of insight into the problems of race relations in the larger world community. These studies although tentative and incomplete should serve as an introduction to the study of the processes by which, in the words of Dr. Romanzo Adams, “the peoples of Hawaii are becoming one people.”

One of the most interesting sociological problems is found in the social situation which revises the personality of the various ethnic groups that have migrated to Hawaii. To the immigrant, Hawaii promised money and the possession of values which would give him prestige in his home country. Hawaii was merely a temporary abode where he might attain his desires. He failed to see hardships and struggles in his visions of success. His actual experience left him disillusioned, a numerous testimonies have indicated. However, those who have remained in Hawaii have shifted their ambitions to a desire to succeed in the new community. New values replaced the old. Once this attitude was taken, the acculturation process proceeded with greater rapidity than ever before.

The experience of the various ethnic groups in Hawaii has revealed definite patterns of adjustments made by our immigrant groups. In general, the immigrant upon his arrival is accorded an inferior social and economic position. Impediments in communication cause misunderstandings and the immigrant is thought of as being inferior mentally. The immigrant upon his arrival to the Islands wants to make advantageous economic adjustments, but there is also the desire to maintain his own traditions and to maintain his racial integrity. Modification in culture is inevitable because of the demands of the local economy and social structure. The degree of modification is conditioned by the size of the group, the economic opportunity, and the length of residence in Hawaii. Modification in the culture of the first generation are at first mainly in the economic phase. The immigrant remains loyal to the old traditions, he is governed by the mores of his homeland, and he attempts to maintain as much of the old culture as possible.

As the children and grandchildren of immigrants grow up there is a change in the social situation. As the Hawaiian youth of immigrant heritage acquires an adequate command of English, as they acquire better economic status and as their education fits them for participation in the social life of the larger community there arises conflict. Conflict may take the following two forms: (1) the conflict between parent and child over the maintenance of the old traditions as against the dominant American culture, and

(2) the conflict between the second generation and the established group for economic status. The conflict between parent and child is not so marked once the parents accept the inevitable and decide to make Hawaii their home. The later conflict, resulting in race prejudice and discrimination, arises when an immigrant group enters into severe competition with the established group for higher economic status. Dr. R. E. Park in discussing race prejudice against the Japanese in the United States says:

"The fact that race prejudice is due to, or is in some dependent upon, race competition is further manifest by a fact that Mr. Steiner has emphasized, namely that prejudice against the Japanese is nowhere uniform through out the United States. It is only where the Japanese are present in sufficient numbers to actually disturb the economic status of the white population that prejudice has manifested itself to such a degree as to demand serious consideration . . . The Japanese, the Chinese, they too would be all right in their place, no doubt. That place, if they find it, will be one in which they do not greatly intensify and so embitter the struggle for existence of the man."<sup>1</sup>

Resentment, disappointment, and often disorganization among the second generation result where there is a lack of opportunity for economic and social advancement.

The experience of the peoples of Hawaii shows us that there is a rise in the economic status of the various immigrant groups which is usually followed by a general rise in the social prestige of the group. There is constant unconscious modification of attitudes towards different ethnic groups corresponding to the situation. The Chinese and the Japanese did not have the respect and recognition of the larger community twenty years ago as they have today. The Filipinos are in the same position occupied by the Chinese and Japanese fifteen or twenty years ago. Being the latest immigrant group, they are the least understood and therefore occupy the inferior position in the estimate of the various groups. The rapidity of advancement of the Filipinos will not be as marked as the Chinese and Japanese because of the less developed commercial economy in their homeland and the decrease in the opportunity for economic advancement in Hawaii.

Our thought on the problems arising from the meeting of cultures has been in terms of the first and second generations. However, one of the obvious and more often unrecognized facts is the rising importance of the third generation. According to the Board of Health estimates in 1936 a little more than one-fifth of the Japanese and less than one-seventh of the Chinese population were aliens. This indicates that the immigrant generation is rapidly approaching the upper age groups and a large percentage of the children being born have native born parents. This

1. R. E. Park & E. W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, p. 624.

fact is striking when one considers that the maintenance of the traditions of the old world is due almost wholly to the presence of the member of the immigrant generation and to the prestige which age gives them. Looking forward, one may see that their numbers will decrease pretty rapidly and that the numbers and also the prestige of the American educated second generation will increase. In a few years, our thinking educationally will have to be reorganized in terms of the third generation whose backgrounds and problems will be vastly different from the second generation. The child of the third generation will no longer have so much of the conflict of cultures in his home. English will be spoken in the home and the problem of communication in a common language will disappear. The subtle feelings of communion and sympathy which comes through speaking the same language will strengthen child-parent relationships.

Dr. Romanzo Adams sums up the trends of the social process in Hawaii in the following statement. "There is abundant evidence that the peoples of Hawaii are in process of becoming one people. After a time the terms now commonly used to designate the various groups according to the country of birth or ancestry will be forgotten. There will be no Portuguese, no Chinese, no Japanese—only Americans."<sup>2</sup>

*Social Process in Hawaii* aims to describe these forces and processes objectively, without moral evaluations. This is not always easy since the contributors of the articles are for the most part themselves participants in the institutions and processes they describe. As in previous issues, this volume brings together studies and reports of undergraduates and graduates in sociology at the University of Hawaii and the publication represents the cooperative efforts of both students and faculty.

Although this pamphlet is directed largely to Island readers it is hoped that it may give the *malihini*—the "outsider"—a better perspective of the social process in Hawaii.

#### Acknowledgements

The editor wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Dr. Romanzo Adams and Dr. John Reinecke of the Sociology Department for their suggestions and encouragement in getting out this volume and to the National Youth Administration for clerical assistance.

2. Romanzo Adams, *The Peoples of Hawaii*, 1933, p. 5.

## ASSIMILATION

ELLSWORTH FARIS

The simplest meaning of the term assimilation is "becoming alike." When the immigrant is assimilated, he becomes like the people into whose midst he or his ancestors have moved. There is a political meaning of the word which is roughly equivalent to naturalization, by which is meant the legal process of renouncing foreign allegiance, taking an oath of loyalty, and assuming the duties and claiming the benefits of citizenship. Sociologists use the concept to denote the more profound changes that take place in the personality, attendant on the acceptance of the mores of the dominant group, a process which sometimes involves a very slight change and in other cases a modification so great that it may take several generations to effect it.

The post-war restrictions on immigration into the United States were designed to encourage the entrance of northern Europeans and to limit migration from southern and eastern Europe, based on the assumption that the latter were more difficult to assimilate. The prohibition of the Asiatic group was defended by the argument that they could not be assimilated at all, as the differences in racial characteristics were thought by the advocates of the legislation to be so great that there was no prospect of assimilation. Experience in the Hawaiian Islands has yielded important data for the understanding of this question and seems to show that the sociologist's conception of culture as independent of biological or racial limitations is a sound one.

It is conceivable that the process of assimilation or of being alike may require very little inner change or even none at all. Karl Schurtz was a graduate of a German University who came as a refugee after the revolution of 1848, with a knowledge of American life and manners and also of the language. It is hardly too much to say that Schurtz was assimilated before he landed. His conceptions of freedom and democracy were out of harmony with the Prussian regime which he left but essentially like those of the land to which he came. He was a soldier in the American army, a member of the United States senate, and a leader of thought in his adopted country for many years. There were many similar instances that could be cited.

It is obvious that the greater the initial difference, the more difficult is the process of becoming uniform; but in America, where the public schools are the most effective means of producing a uniformity of culture, the process can be shortened to the third generation at the longest, unless there are other circumstances that operate to retard it. Sometimes the immigrant group itself is reluctant to give up its identity and in some cases the dominant group is unwilling to accept those who seek admission. Ghetto communities with dietary rules that prevent their eating freely with others, and with a tradition of endogamy that requires the saying of prayers for the dead when one "marries out", are obviously difficult to assimilate. On the other hand, Negroes eagerly

seek admission only to be met with resistance. Moreover, the attempt of the home government from which the immigrants came to keep close contact with the immigrant group acts as a retarding influence, but the lasting effectiveness of these efforts is, perhaps, not very great.

In order for one who is very unlike to change and be assimilated there must be very profound alterations. The old must be replaced by the new and this is not always easy nor indeed without pain. In a sense, the old culture must be uprooted and the new sentiments transplanted in the disturbed soil. But some growths are very difficult to uproot, and every gardener knows that evidences of surviving life are often seen when least wanted; and cultural survivals may, on occasion, furnish the material for cultural revivals and the necessary change be more difficult than ever.

Assimilation of isolated individuals takes place with the utmost readiness and the assimilation of isolated families may be expected to occur with a minimum of resistance. It is the compact community or neighborhood that gives rise to the immigrant "problem" and to the familiar difficulties. For sociologists have long known that the individual is not the real bearer of the culture and that the family cannot accurately be considered the cultural unit, since no family can exist without economic and social relations with other families; the children cannot find their mates at home; and every normal family must have neighbors. If no two immigrant families were to settle near each other, thus being forced to find their neighbors among the bearers of the prevailing culture, assimilation would be a very rapid process.

There is evidence for this statement to be found in abundance, but the most striking confirmation is perhaps an episode in the early eighteenth century in South Africa. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes there occurred a relatively large migration of refugees to Cape Colony. The French Huguenots differed from the Dutch population in language, religion, customs, and manners. The governor, Van der Stel, welcomed the newcomers but decided to take precautions against the formation of an alien community. Accordingly, the new settlers were scattered among the Dutch so completely that the formation of a French community was impossible. The result was the complete merging of the new into the old and an assimilation that could hardly be more thorough. Their language, their religion, their manners and customs, all disappeared, and they became wholly Dutch, doubtless adding vigor to the attack by intermarriage. The only evidence of them at present remaining is to be found in the family names such as Malherbe, Delarey, Villiers, Joubert, Rousseau and many others.

In the absence of administrative interference, however, the immigrants will seek to live in company with those who speak their language and have the same habits. It is impossible to continue wholly unchanged the manner of life that was lived in the ancestral villages; but diet, cuisine, holidays, customs of courtship and marriage, ceremonies connected with birth and death, these and many more are perpetuated in the immigrant community and mark them off from the inhabitants of the land as different. Some-

times these differences are regarded as quaint and picturesque, and sometimes with disapproval or even contempt; but in so far as they are different, they are not alike; and the difference constitutes a barrier to communication without which socialization cannot take place.

Isolation makes for differences and perpetuates them; communication and cooperation between groups or between a group and separate members of other groups tends to alter sentiments and habits and to produce the likeness that we call assimilation. Any conditions that make for isolation may, then, be regarded as obstacles to assimilation, for separatism is the logical opposite of assimilation.

Isolation is the obvious outcome of a compact neighborhood or community separated by intervening unoccupied land from other settlements. Such communities may remain for centuries unaffected by the prevailing culture, and assimilation be indefinitely postponed. The physicians in the hospitals in New Mexico tell of women in the pueblos who are allowed to die in childbirth because the people are unwilling to call in medical aid. And yet these villages have been surrounded by civilization for two or three hundred years and have been the object of Americanizing efforts for the past three generations. The very language of the people still survives; very little has happened to their habits of life; and almost nothing to their system of moral values and sentiments. Great changes may be expected in the next generation, however, for the government is now insisting on the attendance of the boys and girls in a boarding school, after three or four years of English language teaching in the village itself. In this boarding school the young people not only associate with those from other tribes and pueblos, but are taught the arts and the ideas of the modern world. When they return to the village there is always a measure of conflict and disorganization, for the transition can hardly be accomplished without painful adjustments.

There are areas in Europe which are occupied by many small communities, highly diverse in origin and culture, in which the prospect of assimilation seems indefinitely remote. In the republic of Czechoslovakia the schools in the small district of Trans-Carpathian Ruthenia are taught in thirteen languages. It would appear that only a momentous crisis would be able to break down these fantastic barriers to the cooperation and integration which are the conditions of an adequately organized national life. The dangerous plight of Czechoslovakia at the present time is a striking commentary of the effects of disunity in a political state, and of the consequences of a failure to accomplish the assimilation of a population.

Isolation is, of course, more difficult to overcome in those instances where the settlements antedate the regime which is trying to assimilate them. The World War would surely never have been fought if the Austrian government had known how to assimilate its constituent elements or, in the face of failure to do so, had acknowledged that it was impossible and adopted other less provocative methods. Assimilation is, then, not a mere academic subject;

an adequate understanding of the whole process would not only have prevented disastrous policies that have had tragic consequences, but would make possible more intelligent plans by contemporary makers of policy. The ruthless antisemitism of Hitler is apparently the outcome of a conviction that the assimilation of Jews is an impossibility.

Isolation is more effective if it is spatial and the group lives in a segregated area; but such segregation is not essential to isolation. The Gypsies have been in Europe for six centuries and entered America in colonial times. They are on every continent, including Australia, and have rarely had any settled residence; and yet no isolation is more complete, and their community life has resisted all assimilating influences to the present time. Once they lived in tents and drove in wagons over the country, mending tinware, trading horses, telling fortunes, and pilfering their victims. At present in America they travel in automobiles and rent empty stores in cities, but they are as alien to the values and sentiments that prevail here as if they were living in Albania.

The Jews are isolated by their scriptural food habits and, when these are weakened, there remains the scriptural endogamy. The *diaspora* forces them to consider the interests of their fellow Jews in all lands and may prevent that whole-hearted allegiance to the land of their adoption which is a condition of assimilation and consequent acceptance. Of course there are many Jews who are completely assimilated and whose Jerusalem is Washington, D.C., but antisemitism would be very rare if this characterized all Jews, if indeed, it would exist at all.

The value to the individual Jew of this solidarity is great, for it gives him a pride in his race and a heroic determination that Israel shall not die. The disadvantage is that assimilation is resisted, unlikeness emphasized, and dislike, hostility, prejudice, and discrimination are perpetuated. The assimilation of the Jews would seem to call for more patience and a longer view than it is reasonable to expect any one generation to possess.

Divergence and difference does not always occasion dislike and prejudice. While there is a strain for consistency and uniformity in the mores, yet divergence can become institutionalized. This is called accommodation. The caste system in India was more than a *modus vivendi*; it was a solution of the problem of racial difference. Yet there is reason to believe that this solution was not the final one and that modern forces and ideas will yet bring about serious conflicts. Accommodation is never permanent; it is only a provisional stability.

Assimilation is a cultural concept and not a political one and yet the word has little meaning apart from the problems of a sovereign political unit, and seems inapplicable apart from the lines on a map. Sweden did not assimilate the Norwegians, but now that Norway is independent they do not try. Germany tried unsuccessfully to assimilate the Poles; and now the Poles would like to assimilate their Germans. We do not think of the Americans as trying to assimilate the Mexicans in Mexico, but they do try to assimilate the Mexicans in Texas and Chicago. The most important

principle that was appealed by Wilson in his efforts to influence the writing of the treaty of Versailles was the principle of self-determination and, though the difficulties have proved greater than anyone thought them to be, the aim seems to have been to group together those peoples who could assimilate the divergent elements of their population.

The prevailing standard of life and morals is opposed to serious unlikenesses. The Mormons in Utah were far away from their fellow citizens, but their practice of polygamy was intolerable and its abandonment was forced upon a reluctant group. This was the price exacted for the privilege of statehood and not the result of violent compulsion, a method which is singularly ineffective.

The attempt of the Turks to force its divergent elements to conformity is an instructive example of the futility of persecution. The task was finally considered to be impossible and there occurred that remarkable exchange of populations after the war; the Greeks in Turkey being transferred to Greece, and the Turks in Greece moving to Turkey. Apparently there are conditions under which assimilation appears hopeless.

In America assimilation has been so rapid and has taken place on such a wide scale that we have come to expect it in all cases, and sometimes there is impatience if the process lags. Immigrant groups are reproached for not changing faster than they can, and immigrants are sometimes embittered because their efforts to be counted as assimilated encounter resistance.

It is a paradox that America wants her immigrants to be assimilated and yet ambitious immigrants knock in vain for admission into privileges and positions to which they have come to aspire. This is a familiar situation with the second generation individual who is sometimes plaintive and unhappy and sometimes angry and rebellious because he cannot be received "as an individual," since he feels himself to be "as American as any one else." But the paradox is only apparent. The alien group is always conceptualized. Antisemitism never has meant that the most rabid antisemite is hostile to all Jews. The feeling and the attitude is toward the "race" and the race is not an object of perception. And in order for an individual to be received "just as an individual," he must be dissociated from the group against which there is an unfavorable attitude. The nature of human thought and feeling is such that we cannot avoid thinking in terms of classes and concepts. The marginal man, whether a biological hybrid or a cultural mixture, is a transition phenomenon and the dissociation which would be to his advantage often requires more time than he has at his disposal.

The phenomenon of race prejudice is closely related to this process. An isolated unassimilated group that has little contact with others encounters very little prejudice or discrimination. The Mennonite farming communities in Pennsylvania are unassimilated. They do not vote, refuse to go to war, "dress plain", are endogamous, and even think of themselves as "peculiar". And yet they are not the object of prejudice or discrimination, being regarded as thrifty, honest, highly moral, very industrious, and incidentally, excellent customers.

At the other extreme a completely assimilated group is one that has disappeared as a separate group and the years have seen all prejudice disappear when the immigrant has lost his strangeness and has merged with the body of citizens.

It is rather in the *process* of transition from alien to citizen, considered not as an individual but as a group phenomenon, that prejudice and discrimination appears. This is often accentuated in times of stress when the stranger competes successfully and underbids the native. Resistance is not encountered by those who do not strive, neither by those who have achieved their goal, but rather by those members of a group which is on the way, but has not yet arrived.

Race prejudice is, therefore, a symptom and not a specific evil. It is a phenomenon of transition, however prolonged the transition may be. As a "problem" it is easier to understand if it is considered as the manifestation of other conditions; the real problem is to deal with the conditions under which it arises. And just as a recurrent fever will not subside till it has reached its peak and then will subside without a febrifuge, so race prejudice cannot be expected to disappear with suddenness. The usual discussion of race prejudice are carried on in moralistic terms and the finger of scorn is pointed at those who are to blame. An accurate scientific understanding of it, when we shall have secured such an understanding, will afford light where now is only heat, and will enable a sounder program and policy than has yet appeared.

Reference has been made to the American public schools, without which it is doubtful whether America would have remained a nation. It is in the public schools that the children are led to think in terms of plural pronouns; and say "we", "our", and "us." And every occasion or enterprise or crisis that brings men together into a group with the feeling of "we", is an influence in the direction of likeness and therefore of assimilation.

Assimilation is the expected outcome in America of racial diversity, but he who expects it to happen suddenly or even soon is entertaining an error which may be the occasion of grief. It takes, under present conditions, time, and a long time. The transition stage is always productive of disturbance and discomfort and those who suffer disappointment because they are in the midst of the transition might be more patient or at least more understanding if the exact nature and limits of assimilation were known and understood. An accurate sociological knowledge of assimilation might prevent much heart burning in the breasts of those who are hurt and wounded because they cannot have at once, in this season, the fruits of a harvest that require a long, long while to mature.

The English absorbed and assimilated thoroughly the conquering Normans and the conquered Welch. The Chinese have assimilated more than one alien race. When we think of assimilation, we shall perhaps think more accurately if we think in terms of centuries.

## THIS GENERATION OF HAWAIIAN YOUTH

ROMANZO ADAMS

For the present purpose all persons who have been or will be between 15 and 25 years of age sometime during the present decade, that is, all persons born 1906 to 1925, are considered to belong to the present generation of youth. Those born in the middle year of the period, 1916, are now 22 years old and some of them are university seniors about ready to enter upon their life work.

Broadly speaking, all those who claim Hawaii as home are Hawaiian youth, but the term, Hawaiian, is often used in a narrower sense. In a special sense, those who are able to claim descent from the old native stock are Hawaiians. Some even confine the use of the term to those of unmixed native ancestry, but I shall not follow this usage, preferring to include the large number who have European or Asiatic as well as native Hawaiian ancestry.

Each generation of American youth faces a situation that is unique in relation to some important things. This is especially true of those who live in Hawaii. Because of the special character of the situation of this generation of youth it is receiving considerable attention. The young people themselves are thinking about it, talking about it, writing about it, and so are their elders. This little volume and the earlier volumes of *Social Process in Hawaii* are genuinely representative of this thinking, but no short series of articles can be adequately representative.

As everybody knows the population of Hawaii includes not only the descendants of the old native race, but also numerous immigrants of nearly a dozen sorts and their children and grand-children. It is not the present purpose to write of the various sorts of youth according to ancestry, but it is necessary to make one classification. On the one hand, there are the young people who are Hawaiian in the narrower sense and, on the other, there are those who are commonly classified according to the nationality of their immigrant ancestors—British, German, Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino and still others.

There is an especial interest in those who are Hawaiians in the narrower sense because their traditions belong more definitely to Hawaii. Even though one had a father or grandfather of British or Chinese birth, the effective traditions are those that have originated in Hawaii. Because of the way the sentiment of the Hawaiians of native ancestry is organized around Hawaiian experience and local interests they are destined to have a leading role in the unification of the several peoples now resident in Hawaii.

When Europeans first visited Hawaii they found a preliterate people unfamiliar with commerce or the use of iron. The century and a half of contact with western civilization has witnessed a gradual movement of Hawaiians away from the old methods of production and a gradually increasing use of the kind of tools the foreigners introduced. But the roots of Hawaiian sentiment still run back to the time before or soon after the coming of the first

white men. The traditions of these early times are treasured and, when they shall have received suitable artistic treatment, they will make an important contribution toward the unification of the peoples of Hawaii.

Never is it possible for several peoples to become one people merely through the acquisition of a common technology. There must be common memories, common interests, common values and standards and common loyalties. The most important contribution of the Hawaiians of the old native stock to the Hawaii of the future will be, not in the field of technology, but in the field of tradition and sentiment.

The important unique thing in the experience of this generation of native Hawaiian youth relates to numbers. This is the first generation in more than a century that has grown up in a time of expanding numbers. All through the nineteenth century the Hawaiians were falling away in numbers and while there was a slight reversal of trend during the early part of the present century, the change was so small that it was not until about 1920 that it became clearly evident. More recently there has been a marked increase in births and a reduction in death rates so that the Hawaiian population has been growing more rapidly than the rest of the population. It now begins to be clear that when anyone of our several peoples comes to have a majority of the total population it will be the Hawaiian.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that the long period of population decay was a source of discouragement for the Hawaiians. While there was a prevalent idea that the Hawaiians were destined to disappear it counted toward the decay of the qualities needed for new achievement. The future was forbidding, there was little interest in the making of far reaching plans and there was a lack of resoluteness in practical endeavor. But already a changing attitude may be seen. The turn of the tide of population is a sort of guarantee of the future place of the Hawaiians. It is natural that there should be a return of courage and that there should be a more nearly adequate organization of incentives to achievement. Zest for living is on the increase.

In a century and a half, this generation of Hawaiian youth is the only one that has faced so favorable an outlook.

Turning now to the more numerous young people who are of immigrant ancestry, one is able to note two things in their experience which are unique. One of these relates to numbers and the other to cultural change.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century there was a large immigration of men to Hawaii, but there were only a few women. Consequently there were, relative to the number of men, few children. During the first part of the present century the number of maturing young men was far too small to supply the labor demand created by an expanding industry. Consequently there was a continued large immigration up to 1931. At as late a date as 1930, about 85 per cent of the laborers in rural districts were

foreign born and, even in Honolulu, nearly 60 per cent were foreign.

But the immigration of this century differed from the earlier movement in that it included a comparatively large number of women. In the natural order of events there has appeared on the scene a generation of youth that may be regarded as normal in size—this generation of youth. This generation of Hawaiian youth is able to do what the earlier generations could not do. As the boys are maturing year by year, they are numerous enough to fill the places vacated by their elders on account of age and also to supply the additional man power called for by an expanding industry. This is the important fact that lies back of the almost complete cessation of immigrants since 1931. The increasing role of the native born in Hawaiian economic life will result in very important developments in industry, in political life, in education and in all social relations. It is scarcely too much to say that it means a new Hawaii.

For a long time, we have been talking about "second generation youth" meaning the first native born generation. Preeminently the educational, occupational and general social problems of youth have been thought of as second generation problems. But this is the last generation of youth that can be regarded as mainly of the second generation. Probably three-fourths of the children born last year have native born mothers. Soon our schools will be dealing mainly with the children of a third or later generation.

This present generation of Hawaiian youth is at a more advanced stage in the general process of Americanization than its predecessor was. This is the first generation to enjoy pretty generally the privilege of a high school education. Progress in the use of the English language has been such that all of the members of this generation, irrespective of ancestral origin, are able to communicate with each other in a fairly satisfactory way. This linguistic progress is associated with other sorts of cultural change that may be expected to facilitate the making of ever widening social contacts.

The young people of a second generation have a unique responsibility. As young people growing up in the homes of immigrant parents they must acquire enough of the old country culture of their parents to live comfortably with them and to make possible a reasonable measure of family solidarity. This duty cannot be evaded without moral peril. It is also the duty of such native born youths to acquire enough of American culture to live comfortably with the rest of the people in the community. For example, a young man of Chinese parentage must be Chinese to his parents and their intimate friends, but he must be an American in his wider social relations. It is not easy to carry this double role. The surprising thing is not that some fail, but that so many carry it so successfully. This generation is preeminently the one of the double role.

In the broadest sense all the youth of Hawaii are Hawaiian youth. But in the past it has been necessary to speak about the

peoples rather than the *people* of Hawaii. We have had ten or a dozen peoples, not one people. It is still true that persons are always being classified according to ancestry. In the beginning this was a necessity. Now it tends to become merely a convenience. The time is coming when it will not be even a convenience—only a habit, and finally the habit will be lost. These changes will take place gradually as the descendants of the immigrants participate more fully in American culture and in the broader social interests of Hawaii and as foreign languages and the other cultural marks of foreign origin disappear.

In relation to the general process of unification, the process through which several peoples become one people, the numbers of this generation will play an important part. They will not bring the process to a completion, but they will carry it so far that the nature of the outcome will be pretty clearly seen and when the outcome is seen people will stop speculating about it and will lose interest in it. One may expect that the later stages of the process will go on all the more satisfactorily because they will be unobserved and undiscussed.

As you young men and young women of this generation of youth enter upon your heritage of opportunity and responsibility in Hawaii the members of an older generation watch you with increasing interest and confidence.

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Social Process welcomes the appearance of Andrew W. Linds' exhaustive and scholarly study of *An Island Community*. Dr. Lind describes and analyzes the importation and contact of races in Hawaii as affected by the major ecological processes operating within the Territory. He traces historically the forces influencing the importation of the different races and the effects of these contact. Chapter headings include: Hawaii's Changing Position, the Native on the Land, Land Alienation, New Uses of Land, Stabilizing Hawaii's Population, the Invasion of Trade, the Plantation and Capital Investment, the Plantation and Labor Control, Occupational Succession, the Maturation of Island Civilization and An Island Commonwealth.



The study of the city is one of the most interesting in the field of sociology. This study is limited to the Aala district in Honolulu in which the writer lived for a year in order to gain an acquaintance with and to collect sociological data. Here vice and crime are prevalent and the standards of conduct are comparatively lax. One who has been reared in a home where family morals and controls are rigid cannot fail to be impressed by the apparent lack of organization and control in the area. Unlike the rural district, the population of this particular area is very mobile, relations are impersonal, and the people are addicted to exciting activities. It is only natural for an entirely different set of behavior patterns to develop in areas where peoples of diverse cultures reside together. Sociology has been defined as "the study of the obvious", and in revealing the obvious, it is not one's purpose to pass moral judgments.

*Location and History.* The Aala district is a small section of the Oriental settlement of Honolulu. Chinatown and Tin Can Alley lie just beyond the river, while the more famous Hell's Half-Acre is only a stone's throw to the north. (This study is confined strictly to Aala Street and the immediate vicinity). It is located about 250 yards north-west of Nuuanu Stream, bounded by Beretania Street on the east and King Street on the west. A large playground, Aala Park, lies to the right of the street, where the people of the vicinity congregate. Immediately adjacent to King Street is the Oahu Railway Terminal, while further to the west are the dockyards, lumber yards, and pineapple canneries where many of the residents find employment.

Its more recent history begins with the great Chinatown fire in 1900. Prior to that and for many years later, the Chinese were the dominant racial group in the population. They owned the lands and buildings and operated the stores. Even today the lands are under Chinese control. The Chinese of the higher economic levels moved out of this area after the great Chinatown fire of 1900, making way for the lower classes of Chinese to move into the area. The heavy flow of immigrants after the disaster necessitated the immediate construction of buildings to house them. The buildings were constructed simply, cheaply, and rapidly, and the problem of accommodating the immigrants was temporarily solved.

As the Chinese abandoned their businesses and migrated to other sections of the town, a new group of immigrants—the Japanese—invaded the area. The majority were dissatisfied plantation laborers who sought the city for better economic opportunities. Bringing their families with them, they occupied the shops and homes left by the Chinese. They operated the general stores, the

<sup>1</sup> The study of this Community was made between January and November, 1936, when the writer, a school boy, earned his room and board in one of the smaller restaurants located in the area. Subsequent visits to the district for up-to-date information have been necessary. Childhood recollections, based on residence in the vicinity, during the years, 1924-25, have been used also.

restaurants, or roomed there and worked elsewhere.

Although the present population is predominantly Japanese, there are some Puerto Ricans and Hawaiians, and an ever increasing number of Filipinos. The last group has steadily increased within the last few years. They have not as yet taken up whole-sale residence in this district as they have in the vicinity of Liliha and Kukui Streets, but they constitute a group which makes up more than 80% of the people gathering in the Aala district on Saturday nights. The Filipinos are principally plantation laborers, spending their week ends in Aala, and it is not unlikely that they will occupy this district as soon as the Japanese leave.

Most of the buildings in Aala are over 25 years old, although a building was constructed in 1937.<sup>2</sup> The oldest structure, located on the corner of King and Aala, is forty years old. A person will immediately notice the difference in building material as soon as he crosses the Nuuanu Stream and enters the Aala district. Those east of the stream are largely fireproof, while those in Aala are frame-constructions which have not been altered since they were first built to house wealthy Chinese families. Though fireproof structures are in demand, their construction has not been undertaken. For this reason, the triangle, formed by the union of King and Beretania, with Aala Street as the base, constitutes a real fire hazard.

*The Area of Transition.* This district may rightfully be called a transition area.<sup>3</sup> It is characterized by high land values, dilapidated buildings, small individual shops, tenements, and Oriental hotels. The population is made up of a dominant group of Japanese, a stable group of Hawaiians, an ever increasing number of Filipinos, a diminishing number of Chinese, and a few other racial groups such as the Puerto Ricans, Portuguese, Negroes, Koreans, and a very few Haoles. The major racial groups have congregated here because this was the area of comparatively low rents, and individuals found a certain degree of security in contacts with fellow immigrants.

The writer once approached a young California-born Japanese youth who was boarding in a hotel and who had spent more than half of his life in Japan. "Don't you feel lonesome and lost living among these various races?" he was asked. "I feel that way when I visit the business sections, but, here, it seems as if I am in Japan," was his reply. "The theaters are typically Japanese and even the ladies with their kimonos are the same here as they are in Japan." This individual now lives near River Street where it is possible for him to converse in Japanese and to maintain Japanese ideals to a certain extent.

<sup>2</sup> The ownership and age of the 12 buildings on both sides of Aala Street, as given out by the Territorial Tax Office, Honolulu, present interesting data. The oldest building is forty years of age and the newest twelve, averaging twenty-five years collectively. (A thirty year old building was torn down and replaced in 1937). Only four of these, including the new building, are fire-proof. Four of them are owned by Trust Companies, three by Koreans, three by Chinese, and one each by a Portuguese and a Japanese.

<sup>3</sup> Robert E. Parks, "The City," 1925, pp. 50-58.

<sup>†</sup> Dr. Andrew Lind's lecture in the introductory course in Sociology, University of Hawaii, 1937.

The two Japanese theatres on Aala Street attract throngs to their doors during the weekends. This is one of the strongest factors in persuading many young Japanese to take up residence in the district. Moreover, there are several hotels run by Japanese, which cater to people who come from rural Oahu, from the city itself, and from the outlying islands. The cafes, restaurants, and bars play popular Japanese songs which induce people to sing and speak the old world language.

The Filipinos, as already mentioned, gather during the week ends from the country, while others who reside in the locality, come out and mingle with them. Their most popular pastime is to dress up, sometimes beyond their economic means, to pack the several pool rooms to capacity, or to gather on the sidewalk to spend the night. They play pool, not because they are especially adept at it, but because Filipinos are owners of the pool halls. They get some measure of security and satisfaction from conversation with individuals who understand them and their problems. The relationships are often characterized by the warmth, sympathy, and understanding of a primary group. Since most of them are without families, they frequent the few houses of prostitution, occupied by Japanese, Puerto Ricans, Hawaiians, Portuguese, and a Haole.

Besides being proprietors of pool rooms, some Filipinos have acquired barber shops and restaurants. Those who have migrated from the plantations, seek employment in the canneries, docks, railroads, and other fields open to unskilled laborers. Filipino women are mainly housewives or waitresses. When there is an important boxing bout at the Civic Auditorium, the Filipino boxing fans from the rural areas make the Aala district their rendezvous, a point of assembly and dispersion. Here they find the best Filipino dishes. Transportation to the country is facilitated by the Oahu Railway and by many taxi stands.

Though the Hawaiians may appear to be the dominant group in this area, they actually comprise only a small percentage of the population and are rapidly decreasing in number. The Hawaiians are rapidly being displaced by the Filipinos who now comprise the dominant group that frequents this district on Saturday nights. A decade ago, when the Aala Park was still a "tough" neighborhood, characterized by frequent gang fights, hold-ups, and crime in general, the Hawaiians were the dominant group. Today, the Hawaiians are most conspicuous on the park benches of Aala Park. For their livelihood, they seek work in the various departments of the City and County, in the WPA, and the FERA, in the shipyards, and in related fields.

The Chinese, in most instances, have moved out of the "hole". As their economic level rose, they sought individual residences in better residential districts or in the peripheries of the city. The few remaining families are remnants of the Chinese population which came to this district at a comparatively late date. Their enterprises are the chop suey houses, shoe making, dry goods, and drug stores, including the soda fountains. The Chinese are the oldest residents of the district.

The minor racial elements are the Puerto Ricans, the Portu-

guese, and the Negroes. These constitute undesirable groupings because of their late arrival as residents and because of their indulgence in immoral practices. Some of them are married, but the men are seldom seen to be engaged in outside employment.

Sociologically the most interesting group are the Koreans. With the exception of one who operates a bar, all of them are owners of tenements in which the Hawaiians, Puerto Ricans, and others are roomers.<sup>4</sup> When questioned as to her attitude towards the prostitutes living in her building, the reply of one of the Korean landladies was, "Me, I no care. Me only sell room. 'Nother men make business; me no boss. Me, I get money 'nough." At another tenement, the writer approached a young Korean girl of high school age, who, with her mother was the proprietor of the building. After learning of the occupation of the tenants, the question was put to her: "What are these Portuguese and Haole women doing? Aren't they married?" "Oh, they're prostitutes," she replied unhesitatingly. These attitudes are typical of the attitudes of this area which indicate a relative absence of community organization and morale. Thus we may say that "in a metropolitan economy, characterized by the obsession of money acquisition, the individual may associate himself with an enterprise, the product of which is a complete indifference with him. He cares not what he does in a business as long as he makes money. The enterprise makes a minimum demand upon his personality." Such an attitude of indifference is characteristic of the owners of tenements and places of business in Aala.

*Social distance.* In contrast to the subsistence economy where an individual's activities is known throughout the entire community, there are a number of factors motivating the principal barriers to social contact in the Aala district. First, the blind drive of a resident shopkeeper to accumulate wealth results in a kind of subtle enmity toward the other shop keepers. All stores except the pool rooms, barber shops, and dressmaking shops are open 364 to 365 days of the year. Stores which open 364 days a year close only on New Year's Day while the others, especially the cafes and restaurants, serve food even on New Year's day. Their principal attitude is: "It's during the holidays that the most people flock to Aala, and if we don't earn then, when can we?"<sup>5</sup>

Differences in culture, values, and racial descent constitute oth-

<sup>4</sup> There were 111 people living in the three tenement houses of the area studied when this survey was made, including 85 males and 24 females. The Hawaiians led the other races with 62 males and 6 females. The Chinese had 10 males and 7 females, the Japanese, 3 males and 3 females; the Puerto Ricans, 5 males and 5 females; the Filipinos, 4 males and no female; the Portuguese, no male and one female; the Haole, one male and one female. The Chinese and the Japanese had more children than the others who had one or no children because of their inability to support them. The Social Service Bureau took them away as soon as they were born. Two differences are noticed between the residents of the hotels and those of the tenements: first, hotel roomers had no children, whereas, the tenement people did; second, the age range of the former was 20 to 28 years, that of the latter was above 25 and 30 years. People living in these rooming houses engage in the following occupations: WPA, stevedoring, carpentry, FERA, prostitution. The average monthly rent is \$17 per family.

<sup>5</sup> The rents of the 35 family-operated shops surveyed in the area 100 feet surrounding both sides of Aala Street ranged between \$345 at the highest and \$30 at the lowest per month with an average rent of \$85. There were 19 Japanese operated shops, 5 Chinese, 3 Filipinos, 3 Koreans, and one on a Japanese-haole partnership. The average number of years in residence

er barriers. There is no racial antagonism because each race is benefitted by the residence of the others. But inter-marriage generally does not exist, the members of each group marrying within their own groups and tolerating the existence of the others. This is the result of group sanctions and of living up to the expectations of the group by the individual members. There are a few cases of inter-marriage, but the population as a whole is distinctly divided on racial lines. This is manifested in the activities of the people. The Japanese gather in small groups and chat in the stores; the Filipinos play pool; the Hawaiians loiter or sit on the park benches.

Mobility is an important factor to be considered in social distance. The constant inflow and outflow of people, which disturb the equilibrium of the population, can be determined best by the hotel owners. The hotel residents may sleep over-night or they may stay for several years without knowing their neighbors.<sup>6</sup> Residents, living opposite each other across the street, rarely stop to discuss anything. They regard everyone merely as a prospective customer. Geographically, the people live only a few yards away, but socially, they are miles apart. To cite an instance,—a shoemaker's family of nineteen years' tenure has lived sixty feet from the family of a restaurant owner during the last thirteen years, but the members hardly know each other.

**Diversions.** The theaters, bars, restaurants, pool rooms, houses of prostitution, the sidewalk, and park appear to be the principal centers of life in the Aala community. The Japanese who live up the lane and behind the stores on Beretania Street and its vicinity, with the exception of the small enterprises, spend much of their leisure hours in the theaters. Sizeable crowds attend nightly shows, but throngs jam the streets and sidewalks during weekends when the shows are run three times on Saturday and four times on Sunday to accommodate the crowds. "I attend the shows because there is no place where I can go," is the statement made by many young people. Waitresses, maids, and country folks are also attracted to the theaters by their admiration and idealization of

for these shop owners was 6 years, the oldest member having lived here 29 years and the most recent, three months. The largest family had 10 members. The distribution of population in this limited area was as follows:

	Male	Female
Chinese .....	45	23
Filipino .....	33	17
Hawaiian .....	68	12
Japanese .....	116	89
Korean .....	3	4
Puerto Rican .....	8	9
Portuguese .....	0	2
Total .....	273	155

<sup>6</sup> Of the two hotels in this district, both are owned and operated by Japanese. The total number of occupants was 44 at the time of this study. Their ages ran between 20 and 28, all of them being Japanese. There were 42 males and only two females in this group. Of the females, one was a wife and the other was a bar-maid. The group was engaged in the following occupations: clerk, steward, laborers in the canneries, carpenter, electrician, waiter, and city and county employee. Most of these young men come from other islands because of the fact that the city gives more opportunities. Others coming from the city limits do so because of the change in their economic status caused by family disruptions. The average length of residence is between six months and a year, the longest being two years. Mobility is high because these occupants are constantly looking for rooms within the city which cost less. The average cost of the rooms in these two hotels is between eight and ten dollars per month or \$1.25 a day for the transient traveler.

their personal screen stars. By far the number of females in the late teens and early twenties exceed the number of males of the same age.

Bars and restaurants lure more of the older people who would rather idle their time away by drinking beer or wine. Those who are not employed come in the morning hours to drink, while the laborers spend a few minutes in the late afternoons for a glass or two before heading for home. In the evening can be seen the young males at the counters where they spend long hours with friends, discussing their jobs, circulating petty gossip, and "kidding" the waitresses. Drinking is indulged in as a recreation by these individuals who dread reading because of their limitations in education, who stay away from shows because they might fall asleep, and who cannot stay at home because the landlady might think that they are ill. Some come to forget their worries, some because they are slaves to liquor, and still others for the fun and novelty found in drinking. Because the majority of the waitresses are from rural areas or from other islands, the resident population of young men derive much pleasure in teasing them. The individualistic and unrestrained life led by the young folks show the minimizing influence of social control due to emancipation from home ties and laxity of moral bonds.

Benches provided by the city and county government for the park are used by the Hawaiians and the unemployed of other races, who sit at all hours of the day in their soiled clothing to watch other people at play. Those who doze during regular working hours may be identified as unemployed, though some may be "laying off" for the day. Laborers, mainly unskilled, gather at the park area in the early morning hours to await street cars, county trucks, and other vehicles of transportation which take them to their jobs.

On Saturday afternoons, the Japanese language schools of the city stage their baseball games in the park—a means of creating a closer friendship among themselves. In the children's section enclosed by wire netting, volley ball games are played among the various racial elements of the Aala area. The population derives the maximum utility from the parks, since this is the only sizeable play-ground in Honolulu for an area of such dense population.

Gambling in broad daylight is done peacefully by those who seek pleasure in winning a stake. Police have difficulty in "nabbing" the gamblers because of the systematic manner in which the look-outs are situated at strategic points.

The attitude of the Aala residents towards the unemployed, gamblers, drinkers, and others is one of indifference: "They exist; then, it must be so." From this we are able to infer that the people are willing to live strictly private lives with no desire of meddling in other people's affairs or of reforming society. Parents see their children gazing at gamblers in the park or at prospective patrons of prostitutes but because of the indifference toward the persons concerned, the children are not severely punished for possessing knowledge of these different activities.

The sidewalk crowds are different from those of the small

town or village. Where collective behavior in smaller centers of population may be intimate, that of Aala is transient and motivated by interest. Groups of men may develop a keen sense of friendship in respect to a central focal point of attraction. They may become good drinking companions or form gambling cliques. These companions become known only in relation to these spheres of interest and are total strangers in other activities. In such relationships the sentiments, sympathy, and sense of intimacy do not develop since the private life of each individual may be discussed, but not lived, within the group.

In the transitional area, we are apt to find the activities of religious organizations. The Salvation Army, especially the Filipino branch, does a lot with its weekly open air meetings on the curb. Filipinos who otherwise cannot attend church are taught the Gospel by their fellows in the Army or induced to become followers of the Lord.

An organization of particular interest is the Gospel Mission adjacent to the park. The Hawaiian Board of Missions, headed by prominent citizens of the city, aid in the maintenance of this little church. It had its origin near Beretania Street and was moved twice before it was finally placed at its present location in 1932. The mission holds nightly meetings for the following groups: the Japanese, the Chinese, the Hawaiians, and the mixed groups. The Japanese have their services twice weekly, and the others once. Sermons for the mixed group are preached in English. The membership for the Hawaiian group was 83 upon its organization, but it has diminished to 50 in recent years.

"How do you account for the decrease?" the writer asked of the person in charge of the Hawaiian division.

"Well, you see, people in Honolulu don't live regularly at one place—always moving—and some can't come because they live so far away. We used to have many Hawaiians, but since then most of the members have moved either to Kalihi or to Kaimuki."

"What is the attitude of the people around this park to your meetings and sermons?"

"Well, there are many who wouldn't even approach this door, but there are some who enter and listen. The White laborers and Hawaiians come because they do not have a nice suit of clothes to dress and attend the services of the larger churches. That's what we are here for, and those who attend like it. There is a case of a Japanese boy, a laborer in the cannery, who came and listened to our sermons. He became so interested in the Bible that he is now a preacher on Maui."

*Living Conditions.* People with families are either shopkeepers or tenement dwellers. During working hours everyone stays downstairs to wait on customers, upstairs being a place where one goes to sleep after closing hours. These shops are family-run, therefore, are the most interesting since they constitute the "heart" of life in Aala. The store serves as a business enterprise as well as the living room whenever visitors drop in. To a person reared in a residential district, entertaining may mean absolute privacy, but such is not the case here, for the shopkeeper cannot take time

to go upstairs to serve tea. Visitors, whether coming from out of town or from the neighborhood, must understand such an environment and manage to the best of their ability.

The proprietor usually sits behind the counter. The visitor pulls up a chair beside him and begins conversation. While the storekeeper talks, he is also attentive to the customers who enter. He stands up quietly and serves the patrons, and the visitor must wait. In the restaurants, when the proprietors are preoccupied with their services, visitors are told to sit at one of the tables and wait until the rush hour is over. Food is served on the table. However, to the visiting individual, this improvised parlor may be a source of embarrassment. He may be identified as one of the customers by the diners. Moreover, with a cosmopolitan population as that at Aala, with its high mobility, there is a tendency towards boisterousness, profanity, and obscenity before the visitor.

Let us enter one of the buildings to see the actual living conditions of the people. The shop on the ground floor is the living room. We go through the store or through a narrow lane to get into the living quarters. In the rear of the shop, the kitchen is situated behind high counters in such a way that it may not be seen and yet be accessible from the shop at all times if and when there should be no customers. The back door leads to the backyard, which is of solid concrete paving, walled in by the backdoors of the people who share it. Empty crates, boxes, rubbish, and other refuse are piled near the walls, and the odor which fills the air is quite nauseating to the unaccustomed. The person accustomed to living in such an environment is not aware of the odors unless he is told by the people who have lived in the open air. Overhead, running in all directions are the clothes lines, loaded down with family laundry. These lines are of cord and are strung taut by two pulleys, nailed on two opposite walls.

The backyard is small, and no plants can be seen except a few struggling for existence in pots. There are numbers of rickety, wooden stairways leading up to the "entrance" of the homes. Should we pause at a Japanese home, we may see slippers and wooden sandals thrown beside the door. The family bathroom is situated in this part of the building. Upon entering we find ourselves in a room which can be described generally as a rectangle. A window overlooks the street, the only access to fresh air, since the walls on either side are the partitions between families. Often times the home is a single room where the family sleeps, does the ironing, and where the children play and study. In other instances, the home is divided into a number of rooms, but this is done with difficulty because of ventilation and lighting problems. The home becomes annoyingly hot and stuffy during the day and equally uncomfortable at night. If by chance there should be a veranda which overlooks the street, the tenants may sleep on it, directly above hundreds of people walking on the sidewalk below.

In a Japanese home, beds may be used or the inhabitants may resort to the Japanese custom of sleeping on the floor. Both are used indiscriminately. People of other races prefer the use of beds. It takes time to become accustomed to sleeping conditions.

An early sleeper, should he be a newcomer, will be kept awake by the strong odor of food, by the noise of the street cars, taxi phone calls, phonographs, billiard balls, merry making people, and by the glare of the street lights. The proprietor after closing the shop about midnight, comes up and turns on the light with no regard for the sleepers. At four o'clock, the Chinese vegetable peddlers begin their daily routine of delivering vegetables to restaurants or to the market in their clattering, horse-drawn wagons. Moreover, the newsboys at this hour will be yelling, "Pay'p A'v'tize, pay'p!" in their eagerness to sell their morning paper to the laborers who are already up and on the streets or in the cafes.

A typical Aala family may best be shown by a study of the home set-up of a restaurant owner, his wife, and three children. Included in this group were four other people, two employees and two school boys. In a single large room, which is their home, there were two double beds and one single bed. The parents occupied one double bed, while the children of intermediate and high school age occupied the other. The single bed was for one of the boys. The rest slept on the floor beside the beds, regardless of sex. In another home of a restaurant owner, the family of seven lived and slept in one compartment, while the rest of the people, composed of boy and girl employees, were segregated in two different rooms partitioned by Japanese folding screens. From a girl just out of high school comes this remark: "Gee, I envy all my friends who live in cottages. They seem to have a room all by themselves, but here I don't know which is mine because we all share the house and like it. That's all!"

Families live in the rear or above their shops, a number of them sharing a limited floor space. The families are not segregated according to social class or wealth. Such is the condition prevalent in tenement districts.

*Child Life.* Although children living in the same building are able to see much of each other and may mingle quite freely, their relations are not of that close and intimate type existing in the rural areas. It is true that they play together in the alleys behind their families' shops, but if one of them should move to another part of the city, the play group takes his absence for granted and does not feel that a close friend has been lost. Moreover, children are an essential element in the success of the small retail enterprise, and thus most of their spare moments are spent within the stores. This lessens the opportunity for contact and tends to intensify the isolation.

Children of the different families play within their own "backyard," and although a few will mingle freely, there are others, shyer in nature, who tend to form cliques. As these children grow old enough to attend intermediate and high schools, they eventually find friends elsewhere and rarely associate with the neighbors. Intimacy is the exception to the rule. As an example, there are two Japanese families living in a tenement house, one above the other below. In one there are two boys and a girl, while in the other there are two children of opposite sexes. The girls, and the boy of the latter family are intimate friends, but the two

boys of the first family are detached strangers, associating with friends who come from other parts of the district and spending most of their free hours surfing. The sociable young man finds his pastime at the YMCA. Oftentimes the boys of the respective families do not meet each other for quite a while but when they do, they maintain a cold indifference. This impersonal contact is peculiar to the city where the source of amusement are numerous, where a child may spend more than half of the day away from home to be conditioned by friends, by the schools, and by the play groups.

Play groups do not form according to racial lines. Rather, they are built on interests. Persons who like surfing gather at the homes of friends and discuss the subject, regardless of racial background. The Japanese lad who goes to the YMCA is so attached to a Chinese boy that they go to school and to club activities together. Each is as welcome in the home of one as in the other. Their parents oftentimes enter into the conversation with as much enthusiasm, although they are handicapped by their limited knowledge of English.

Although children are taught not to cross the street, they are constantly seen running up and down the sidewalk, dodging long legs and sharp corners. These children have learned to grasp the value of money from early childhood—much earlier than rural children as the following will show:

Kazu (three years of age): "Oki-san, you goin' buy me harm'nica?"

Oki: "Sure! What kind you like; 5c kind?"

Kazu: "You T'in' 5c can buy? One dollar kind o' course."

There are numerous other cases in which children of older ages, through lack of training or denials at home, will ask the friends of their parents for a few nickels. With parents preoccupied in the shops, family control is exceedingly difficult under Aala conditions. The play area of the younger children, excluding the nearby park, is limited to the shops and dirty, concrete backyards.

Young men in their twenties, who have lived all their lives in this vicinity, prefer to speak Japanese rather than English. The spoken language in the majority of the cases is not refined, but of the unpolished, immigrant variety, mixed with a smattering of English. The Japanese send their children to language school with a wide variation of interest manifested by the children themselves. Pidgin English, mixed with Japanese, is generally spoken among the younger children, though a few exceptional individuals speak good Japanese. These young people come from homes where control over the children is very rigid and where obedience has been impressed on the minds of the children from earliest childhood.

A feature that makes this community look "tough" is the composition of its population. The most interesting are the boot-blacks. Several boys make it their habit to congregate on Aala Street every afternoon after school hours to polish shoes, only to disperse with early evening. The majority of them are Portuguese or Spaniards or mixed, including a few Hawaiians. These boys

do not live in the area, but come from the vicinity of River and Beretania Streets to cater to the Filipinos, who are the better customers. "Shine!" or "Shine, mister!" are their pass words. The writer has never seen new bootblacks carrying on the business. This fact can probably be explained by the existence of a syndicate whereby competitors are discouraged from entering the field. Although a rowdy bunch, they are really friendly when one gets to know them, but at times they have been caught in the act of snatching a few bites of uneaten food from unoccupied tables in the restaurants. These boys also carry on petty games, indirect gambling, played by tossing nickels to a line drawn a few feet from the baseline. The one who throws nearest the line is acclaimed the winner. Thus, the bootblacks may constitute problems of delinquency, but not to such an extent that they affect the residents of the area to a considerable degree. For a dime a person may have his shoes polished. By mutual agreement, two boys may sometimes have a "split" in which each boy works on one shoe, receiving a nickel apiece. These youngsters maintain stiff competition with the regular bootblack stands, earning an average of a dollar a day.

*The Family and Delinquency.* In Aala, the family with its moral sanctions as the supreme authority over individual conduct is well below the line of effectiveness. It is true that the children of shopkeepers are worked, sometimes to an extreme, but these are inevitable, natural results of processes in the city life due to the economic structure. It is unnecessary to elaborate the significance of the acquisition of money to the metropolitan economy—the result being that the family as an unit of social control is no longer in operation. Children are left to shift for themselves at a comparatively early age because parents must compete to survive. Where love, sympathy, and ideals of the parents are lost, the children readily fall into the hands of gangs.

A Japanese boy reveals that two of his cousins contracted a serious illness and eventually died because of the cruel treatment of their father. The third was made to earn his own living, but became a delinquent, a situation to which the parents gave no thought. The interviewed himself, a young man of twenty, had been led into similar channels. He had picked pockets, had committed petty robbery, had participated in gang fights, had a record at police headquarters, and at the time of this writing was on probation for five years. People who knew him spoke unkindly of him. Exceptional cases such as this illustrate the range of juvenile delinquency which is more apt to occur if and when there is misunderstanding within the family.

Gambling with pennies, smoking, and stealing are not rare in the less extreme cases. This is what a mother told her son ten years after they left Honolulu and had firmly established residence in Hilo: "We never did have a complete home. If someone was home, the other was not. You boys were learning to roll the dice, smoke, steal, and were beginning to look like the boys in the Park. Father didn't realize this situation because he was working until late. It was only after I said, 'Which would you choose—your

children or your wages?' that he finally did decide to leave for Hilo to start all over again."

This is a simple statement, but sociologically, it explains the higher rate of juvenile delinquency in the city's area of transition than in the periphery where the economic income is more substantial.

Besides juvenile delinquency, the writer has noticed the "gimme a nickel, bud, for a cup of coffee" character and the beggar who eats out of garbage cans of various households. People see them at their respective "occupations", but no one seems to shun or to condemn their practices. They sit on the park benches and are tolerated with indifference.

The ecological study of the transitional area of the metropolis has brought to view obvious facts which exist in such localities from day to day and that the institutions and the mores of such areas under the given conditions cannot very well be understood by those who live in the more exclusive residential areas.



## CHANGING ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE IN HAWAII

IWAO MIZUTA

It is not within the scope of this paper to debate the Japanese language situation in Hawaii in political terms—to determine whether the knowledge or lack of knowledge of a foreign language is instrumental in promoting patriotism and loyalty to a nation. The approach to this study is from a human point of view. It is an effort to show what the Japanese language means to the Japanese born on American soil and to present a problem that has definite social psychological effect upon the young people within whose breasts are reflected the conflict of cultures.

Assimilation is a slow process and may require several generations to reach completion. With it may disappear the alien language as a medium of communication. But while the social situation for the children of immigrants is described as marginal, that is, one involving a clash between the values and attitudes of two worlds, the Old World language finds a necessary place in the lives of those in the process of change. The problem of communication for the Hawaiian-born involves two situations: (1) communication with the English-speaking community involving the struggle over Island dialect,<sup>1</sup> and (2) communication with the uno-lingual elder Japanese group with the conflict over language inadequacy. It is the purpose of this paper to show the problem arising from the latter.

*Early Language Schools.* The Japanese, as a whole, migrated to Hawaii for money making purposes with no idea of colonizing.<sup>2</sup> Their desire was to save enough from their wages earned on the plantations that they might return to their home land where they could spend the rest of their lives in comfort. Hawaii was only a stepping stone to a higher economic station in Japan. But favorable climatic conditions and economic opportunities lengthened their stay in the islands, until many remained to make Hawaii their permanent home. "Picture brides" were sent from Japan at the request of the single men, and families were established in the course of time.

The plantation community life of the early days was not very favorable to the normal growth of young children. While parents

worked on the fields, children were left to shift for themselves in the homes, and, as a result, it was found necessary to establish some educational institution which would carry over the word of the public schools in keeping the youths occupied with wholesome pursuits during the formative periods of their lives. Parents, also, realized the disorganizing effects of the community upon the Japanese family and felt the need of training in speech and culture to bridge the widening gap between parents and their children. The average child was exposed to three distinct types of languages: (1) the English language in the public schools, (2) the Japanese language in the homes, and (3) mongrel or mixed English dialect in the play groups. Furthermore, most of the immigrant parents, with the intention of returning to Japan, thought it best that their children should not be handicapped in the Old World through deficiencies in reading, writing, and speaking Japanese. A few believed that contributions to American culture could be made from the culture, customs and traditions of their home-land. These then were the chief motives for the establishment of the early Japanese language schools. Impetus was supplied by religious groups, namely the different sects of Buddhists and Christians, who desired to spread their beliefs.<sup>3</sup>

*Present Attitudes of Parents.* Firmly established in Hawaii today, the attitudes of the immigrant parents toward the language schools have been modified with economic and social changes both in Hawaii and in Japan. Since they have lost contact with their home villages for so long a time and since so many have grandchildren in Hawaii, the great majority of them do not expect to return to the old country to live there permanently. In many cases, they also realize that the living conditions here are much better and that due to their change in habits and thoughts, they would have a difficult time in adjusting in their homeland. Moreover, their American born children, who intend to live and work in the islands, exert a claim upon them which makes severance a painful experience. Thus, from their early intentions of departure from Hawaii, parents now have the desire to remain, with their efforts exerted upon the future of their families and children in a changing social milieu.

Their reasons for sending their children to the language schools are as follows: First, the older generation desires to understand their children since they themselves cannot speak the English language. Japanese language preserves the unity of the family by preventing disintegration from faulty communication and lack of common background. Second, there is the desire of parents to equip the rising youth with bilingualism for cultural and vocational purposes. Third, there are second generation parents who, because of their embarrassment in social situations, involving contact with elder Japanese, desire to spare their children a similar fate. Fourth, the language schools keep the youth out of mischief. Fifth, parents desire their children to be trained in good manners and behavior through a moral education. In general, the elder people do not send their children to school because the neigh-

1 For studies on island dialect see "English Dialect in Hawaii" by J. E. Reinecke and Aiko (Tokimasa) Reinecke, *American Speech*, Feb. & April, 1924, pp. 48-58, 112-132, or "The Competition of Languages in Hawaii" by J. E. Reinecke, *Social Process in Hawaii*, Vol. 11, 1936.

2 The first band of 149 Japanese immigrants arrived in 1868, followed by a great movement between 1885 and 1900 and another between 1900 and 1908. At the end of the first movement, which was marked by the annexation of Hawaii to the United States, there were 56,234 Japanese immigrants in Hawaii. In 1908, at the time of the Gentlemen's Agreement, restrictions upon further immigration, there resided in the islands about 79,675 of which 19,889 were Hawaiian born and therefore citizens of the United States. In 1909-1924, a group of 40,463 Japanese came to Hawaii (This number includes many who were returning from a visit in Japan) as picture brides relatives of laborers already here, and professional men. The Immigration Act of 1924 terminated all Japanese labor immigration to Hawaii—Harada, Koichi Glenn: *A Survey of the Japanese Language School in Hawaii*, Thesis for the degree of Master of Arts, University of Hawaii, 1934, pp. 24-31.

3 Harada: *op. cit.*, pp. 32-34, 106



hors do so, but because of practical necessity.

The speaking of English to parents is not desired in many families, though its use may be permitted among the children themselves. Parents who do not understand English are not particularly interested to have it become a primary medium of expression in the home.<sup>4</sup> Their training in the Old World pattern of behavior and thoughts, reenforced by their great urge to preserve the family unity, which is threatened by an alien tongue, does not permit them to speak English, the use of which they felt would lower them in the eyes of their children. To the children, however, English is easier to speak, and is freely used in the homes with resulting conflicts. When the young people converse among themselves in English and laugh at American jokes, the parents feel that they are excluded. "Speak Japanese so that I can understand!" is a common complaint. One person explains, "My folks want us to speak Japanese at least when we are at home. They tell us to speak any other language outside if we wish." This does not mean that the learning of English is discouraged, rather it is promoted. Objections are raised to its large-scale use in the home where the parents would be put to disadvantage, with subsequent loss of control over the children.

When parents, because of their limited knowledge of English, cannot understand their children, the latter have the tendency to become impatient and call them "ignorant" or "dumb". In view of the patriarchal pattern of the Japanese family, based on filial piety, such conduct on the part of children becomes demoralizing to group unity and respect. When parents and children cannot communicate, due mainly to the loss of command over the Japanese language by the latter, a hybrid tongue, made up of a smattering of Japanese and island dialect, is utilized as a compromise<sup>5</sup>. The utterances are limited and awkward, but this is compensated for by mutual understanding and affection.

*The Children and the Schools.* Going to the language school is usually a compromise to boys, though attendance may be either voluntary because of personal interest or compulsory through the threats of parents. In the average Japanese home, privileges and preferences are given to the male members of the family, particularly to the eldest son, who is the heir. The mother, who is responsible for the children's education, often concedes what the son

4 Schools of Honolulu have, in the past, found it necessary to send out circular letters to Japanese and other alien parents addressed in the Old World languages. The reason, in regard to one recently issued by a Honolulu intermediate school, has been attributed by the principal to 70 per cent of the student body, whose parents were Japanese. Says he, "The parents are still an important factor in education and nothing is being done in Hawaii to Americanize the older people, born in other lands. The parents of other non-Caucasian students are mostly Hawaiian-born and do not need the notices written in their own language." Honolulu Star-Bulletin, October 2, 1937, pg. 8

5 "... most bilingualists who have passed through the American schools think largely or even wholly in English, and their attempt to speak their parental languages results in a macaronic speech: phrases of intelligible if not good foreign language alternate with English phrases of various degrees of polish. This is thought by many casual observers to be a corruption of English; essentially, it is opposite, a corruption of the alien tongue by English." Reinecke, J. E., op. cit., pp. 52-53

wishes.<sup>6</sup> The girls do not hold as favorable a position in the eyes of parents.

They are held in check by conservatism and gossip. They accept the protection of the home, yielding more submissively to the authority of the elders and carrying responsibilities more readily than do the boys. Moreover, girls like the Japanese language, and going to school is not a hardship to them because of their adeptness in language.<sup>7</sup>

The school performance of both sexes is observed by a practicing teacher of many years experience. She says, "Girls speak better Japanese because they mingle with their mothers in housework and get a better home education. Boys do not spend as much time at home, and are, therefore, more Americanized through the influence of the play-groups and secular activities. In the distribution curve of grades obtained, the girls are regularly scattered with few exceptionally bad, but, with the exclusion of about 10 per cent of the boys who make far superior grades than the girls, the vast majority of male students are poor. Their distribution curve bulges at both ends."<sup>8</sup> In general, both sexes speak English of a varying quality on the campus in the conversation among themselves, but to the teacher, Japanese is spoken in a limited sense. Most students are unable to carry on a lengthy conversation in Japanese, their range of expressions being limited to simple remarks.

Like or dislike for the language school is determined by the facility of the student in mastering the tongue and by the personality of the instructor. Those who learn easily, but with a limited knowledge of English, love Japanese and do not mix socially to any great extent with English-speaking students. Those poor in Japanese acquire a love for the public school. Very young children do not realize the significance of the language, but understanding of its social significance comes about with maturity, especially in high school and in university years. The following comment by a male university student is typical: "How do I feel about the language situation? Boy, you don't feel anything about it until you are up against it, then you want to go home and cry, and wish that you had gone to Japanese school when you were young. Just wait until you go into business, then you will find out. I worked as a salesman for one year, and you've got to be tactful. The customers don't tell you, but some of your friends, who know you well, will come around and humorously tell you that you should have said this or that during certain situations."

A woman student remarks, "I think it is a beautiful language, and I love it. I believe it should be perpetuated." This is the attitude of a bilingual girl who is fluent in both English and Japa-

6 To promote scholarship, the language schools have established merit systems, whereby outstanding students are rewarded by certificates of proficiency and by being appointed as leaders of the classes

7 For sex differences in test results, see Woodworth, Robert S., Psychology, New York, 1934, pp. 152-153.

8 The curriculum of the language schools is primarily devoted to reading, writing, and speaking in the course of which are taught filial piety, politeness, obedience, gracefulness, respect for law, etc. Students are trained to become Americans.



nese, but the longer one stays out of the language school, the more one feels that English is one's dominant tongue.<sup>9</sup> The natural desire to work among Americans arises as a consequence. The general attitude of the mature second generation individual is that of deep regret, especially those who are almost English unilingualists. These find that they have lost intimate contact with Japanese culture and with the elder Japanese group outside of their own families.

The writer questioned seven boys whose ages ranged from 10 to 12 years, to learn of their attitudes. With the exception of one, they all expressed a desire to quit the language school if they could, but two or three of the more thoughtful suggested that they do not wish to forget Japanese because it would be impolite not to be able to address an elder person in a social situation. Besides, the loss of the Old World tongue would be fatal to them in securing a job which requires translation and interpretation. The boys admit that they are not embarrassed to speak to their parents and neighbors in their bad Japanese, and are, therefore, too young to become self-conscious as the older ones who try to evade the discussion of the question.

*The Linguistic Hybrid.* What may happen through the inadequacy in the ancestral tongue is illustrated by the case of a young man who telephoned a Japanese store to obtain some necessary information, but, because of his inability to express himself, the proprietor, who could not understand English, hung up on him, much to his embarrassment. Tension is created by the inadequacy of the younger generation to meet visitors and to address them in the proper terminology. Because of this insufficiency, they tend to keep away from the older generation and to associate among themselves or with a cosmopolitan group where English is the mode of expression.<sup>10</sup> The marginal position of the "emancipated" person is further heightened by criticisms, directed against his speech. A usual one from both the elder folks and the conservative second generation group is, "You are a Japanese and you should be able to speak Japanese!" Often an "emancipated" youth may be ridiculed as the following will show: "You know, he was called on to speak, and he couldn't say the simple words. He was stuck, then he blushed, and all the girls laughed at him."

The problem of the linguistic marginal man is evidently that of one emancipated in the realm of communication before his emancipation in the realm of social ties. He derives the necessary affection and physical identification in his own group, but does not lose his marginality, especially in reference to the first generation with whom he cannot communicate without a rise in self-consciousness and emotional conflict. In the community outside his racial group, he finds complete freedom of movement and expression only among the English speaking or bilingual second and third ge-

9 In Hawaii, English, with its wide use everywhere, competes keenly with the alien languages, which are used exclusively by the racial groups to which they belong.

10 The alienation of the Hawaiian-born Oriental from the parents is not only due to the difference in language but also due to a difference in values and attitudes, acquired through the public schools and higher institutions of learning. The loss of an alien tongue accelerates Americanization.

neration youth. The elder generation group is practically behind a closed door.

The degree of emotional conflict depends upon the degree of loss in speech and the amount of social contacts made with members of the first generation. The more emancipated are never at ease with them. The language conflict is covert and is not apparent to the casual observer, but within the mind of the linguistic hybrid is developed an inferiority complex which makes his face to face contacts painful.

The tendency in general is for those who approximate standard American speech to be weak in Japanese, while those who are facile in Japanese tend to be weak in English.<sup>11</sup> There are a few exceptions where one finds persons equally fluent in both. These variations depend upon the type of school attended, the nature and degree of education received, and the composition of the play-groups. An English standard school may provide a milieu for a more complete command of the English language than the ordinary public school which is generally attended by dialect speaking children. With predominant emphasis upon an American education, loss of ancestral tongue is accentuated. On the other hand, Japanese may become a primary tongue where emphasis is placed upon a language school education and when the play-groups are exclusively Japanese in culture. The degree of proficiency in either depends upon the superiority of education and the amount and quality of practice. Many children put much time to both American and Japanese learning. The great majority, however, can speak neither language sufficiently well and find it necessary to use island dialect among themselves.<sup>12</sup> It can also be said that the command of Japanese among the Hawaiian-born generation is greater among the older individuals. The members of this group adhere to the Old World tongue as a primary medium of expression for most social situations, while English is used as a secondary medium mainly for business purposes in dealing with those who do not understand Japanese. In the case of younger persons, English becomes primary for common use and Japanese secondary for special purposes.<sup>13</sup>

11 This does not mean that the speaking of good Japanese is opposed to good English or that good English is opposed to good Japanese. Rather in the process of learning English, the marginal bi-lingual second generation has developed "Pidgin" to facilitate communication. Thus, facility in the use of "Pidgin English" is the common enemy against the correct use of both Japanese and English.

12 Failure to grasp Japanese is attributed to the deficiencies of the language schools in method of teaching and administration. This is only a partial truth. Part of the blame may be placed upon the lack of interest and upon practical usage, especially on the part of boys. Failure in standard English is attributed to the dialect speech of the Hawaiian-born parents of the various races, whose children will ridicule "haoleified" English. The presence of bilingual teachers in the public schools is also considered to be a factor.

13 Though the second generation is the focus of attention at present, the third generation is one of rising importance. In a few years, our thinking educationally will have to be reorganized in terms of the third generation, whose backgrounds and problems will be vastly different from the second generation. The attitudes favorable to the maintenance of the ability to use Japanese correctly is due almost wholly to the presence of the members of the immigrant generation and to the prestige which age gives them. Looking forward one may see that their numbers will decrease rapidly and the number and also prestige of the American educated generation will increase. The boy of six in 1938 will have less sense of need

The primary or secondary consideration of a language can be determined by what it means to the individual—whether he rates it as a foreign or a native language. This can be a subjective measure to the degree of Americanization. Many young people consider the Old World language as foreign, along with French and German. Their thinking process is facilitated by English, while Japanese hampers mental action because of their unfamiliarity with parts of speech, sentence structure, subtleties of word meaning, and vocabulary. These are pitfalls in the learning of any foreign language, which the “emancipated” Japanese finds to exist in regard to the language of his parents. He identifies objects in English with the exception of familiar home objects among which are *kimono*, *tansu* (bureau), *zabuton* (cushion), and *kama* (pot). Language fixes one’s mental horizon. Thus, we find in the thinking of the younger and that of the older generations a difference which sets them apart. A Japanese who thinks in English is different from one who thinks in Japanese.

*Standard Japanese.* There does not seem to be a uniform Japanese speech in Hawaii as used by the group. As one may distinguish the peculiarities in the speech of the New Englander, Southerner, or Westerner, one may find prefectural distinctions in the speech of island Japanese, who have migrated from a dozen provinces, particularly from Hiroshima and Yamaguchi in the southern end of the island of Honshu.<sup>14</sup> An effort is made by the language schools to establish a standard, based on the Tokyo speech, the national standard of Japan. But the members of the second generation are more or less discouraged in its proper use by the use of provincial dialects by their country-bred elders. This causes confusion among the young. A gradual uniformity, however, is being brought about through the influence on the parents of the children who are taught to speak Tokyo Japanese.

The address between the sexes is somewhat distinct in Japan. In a society where preferences and privileges are given to the male over the female, the man’s speech appears to take on a brusque and commanding tone in contrast to that of the woman, which is more cultured and refined. This holds true only among the common people, for in polite social groups, much polish in speech is attained by both sexes. If distinctions between the sexes have been brought over to Hawaii by the immigrants, these have been broken down with the children through the efforts of the language schools and possibly through American influences which promote the equality of sexes.

Spoken Japanese will sometimes approximate the Tokyo standard according to the immediate situation of the speaker, the persons addressed, and the social surroundings. But this applies only to those who make the Japanese tongue the primary instrument for thinking and communicating, and who have such a knowledge and command of the tongue so as to be able to manipulate it to fit the

for the language of his grandparents when he is 20 years old, than the present 20 year old young man.

<sup>14</sup> For dialects in Japan and Hawaii, see “Language Backgrounds of Japanese in Hawaii,” by Kensaku Tsunoda, *Social Process in Hawaii*, Vol. III, 1937 pp. 24-26.

occasion. The youth who thinks and speaks in English falls far short of even being able to speak correct Japanese.

The language newspapers have very little effect upon the Hawaiian-born generation as a whole. Very few of the bilingual and practically none of the “emancipated” ever read the Japanese section. Attention is devoted entirely to the section given over to the English language. During the last 15 years or so, the English pages of the language dailies have been increased with a proportionate cutting down on the Japanese section. “They are a good barometer of the rise and decline of the two languages.”<sup>15</sup>

The radio is much more effective than the newspapers in influencing the speech of the younger generation, since it registers its effect through sound. The young generation may not be able to read, write, or speak Japanese, but they are able to understand the colloquial tongue, being made familiar with it in the homes. The language broadcast, however, does not hold particular interest for the Japanese youth, who are made to listen in, not through their own volition, but because the old people tune in on the programs for their own entertainment. Preference is also given to American movies, not because of the language difference but because of the quality of the entertainment. Familiarity with the language does not hold as prominent a place in regard to a movie as in regard to the newspaper, since understanding in the former involves seeing and hearing of people’s actions, while the latter involves mastery of difficult ideographical characters.<sup>16</sup>

*The Old Generation and Language.* As long as the first generation remains in Hawaii in any considerable number, the language schools and a knowledge of the Japanese tongue will be necessary. Socially restricted in the secular community, the second generation must fall back upon themselves and upon a family, patterned on the Old World culture. No serious attempt has been made to educate the Japanese immigrant parents in the English tongue.<sup>17</sup> As a result knowledge of Japanese by the youthful group becomes important to maintain the family bonds.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Ifa, Fuyu: “The Fate of the Japanese Language in Hawaii,” *The Jitsugyo-no-Hawaii*, Nov. 1, 1928, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup> It is estimated that a university student in Japan finds it necessary to know 3,000 separate Chinese characters in order that he may clearly understand the reference work. The ideo-characters imply similar meanings to both the Chinese and Japanese peoples, but read differently by each. Besides these characters, the Japanese used two alphabetical systems, one known as the “hiragana” and the other known as “katakana”. Samsom, G. B., *Japan: A Short Cultural History*, 1936, pg. 230, and Tsunoda, K., “Language Backgrounds of Japanese in Hawaii”, *Social Process in Hawaii*, 1937, pp. 24-26.

Japanese talkies have rapidly replaced the silent movies and show great technical improvement, proving popular with the conservative second generation group in Honolulu. The silent films of the few years before were interpreted to the audience by a “benshi” or impersonator, who gave voice to the various characters. This curious feature arose as a result of the love of the Japanese for dramatization.

<sup>17</sup> Whatever knowledge of English has been acquired by parents has been self-learned. About 1896 Japanese Christian churches, with the aid of American instructors, opened classes in English for adult immigrants who desired to educate themselves. Many employed private tutors. These efforts have not been consistent or thorough, with the result that what little English the first generation has at its disposal is no better than pidgin. Immigrants, who worked for non-Japanese, found English essential in communicating ideas. The apparent lack of English knowledge is primarily due to the limited contact of parents with haoles (Whites) and their occupation in making a livelihood, which leaves little time for education.

The vocational outlook of young people is also affected by the proportion of older Japanese, particularly in the business field where the bilingualists are called upon by both American and Japanese firms to serve in an interpretive role. Such advertisements as the following frequently appear in Honolulu papers:

#### HELP WANTED

We have an opening for 3 Japanese who are able to speak both Japanese and English. Men with selling experience preferred. Permanent position, bright future. Best opportunity in town. Apply Ra-O-Lite Co., 200 S. Beretania. 18

These may run for weeks with no reply. The following is a concrete picture of what happens in regard to the Japanese firms:

Fifty-one unemployed Japanese Americans have been put to work by the Japanese Merchants' Association in an extensive campaign to help the unemployment situation among the Japanese.

Twenty-eight Japanese stores are now using those young Japanese as salesmen, saleswomen, bookkeepers and secretaries.

The merchants issued a call some time ago for those among the unemployed who could speak Japanese. They realized that it was absolutely essential that employees of Japanese stores know how to converse with the Japanese customers.

Oral tests were given on November 10 to a large number of applicants. Fifty-one were selected from this group. Written tests were given to those desiring more technical positions, such as bookkeeping and secretarial work.

The various Japanese stores are now trying those selected for a period of two weeks. At the end of this time the employer will either retain or reject the workers, according to the merits of each individual. 19

In a few decades the immigrant generation will be all but eliminated through old age. The language schools, nevertheless, may persist for another generation or more upon the insistence of the conservative second generation group, which is culturally closer to the Old World than the New, unless the schools are incorporated within the public school system. With the disappearance of the immigrant parents, the Japanese language will take on a cultural rather than a practical value. Sooner or later it will give way entirely to American speech.

18 From the Hawaii Hochi, November 11, 1937, pg. 2  
19 From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, November 19, 1935.

## THE CHANGING JAPANESE IN HAWAII

ANDREW W. LIND

Because the Japanese are the largest single ethnic group in Hawaii and because their ancestral land plays such a significant role in the international drama of the Pacific, special interest has attached to the history of their experience in the Territory. Unfortunately, however, the popular accounts about the Japanese have not always been consonant with the facts; and in the interest of a more objective approach to their history in Hawaii, it was decided to devote part of this year's *Social Process* to a brief recital of a few of the facts as to the changing Japanese population in Hawaii.

Beginning with the first organized importation of 148 persons in 1868, just after the Meiji Revolution, Japanese laborers were sought for forty years to assist in the development of Hawaii's basic industries. Although the early sponsors of Japanese importation to Hawaii claimed for their wards the additional advantage that "they certainly resembled our native race very much, and (that) there was not slightest doubt that they would most readily amalgamate,"<sup>1</sup> the four hundred thousand immigrants to Hawaii have maintained their separate identity to a remarkable degree. The growth of the Japanese community from the transient<sup>2</sup> colony to the largest single ethnic group in Hawaii since 1900 has naturally attracted special attention. The first large labor importation of 1,921 Japanese in 1885, including 193 women and 122 children, initiated a large scale movement which brought the total Japanese population in Hawaii to 12,610 in 1890 and 61,111 in 1900. Table I reveals a rapid increase in gross numbers of Japanese throughout the period from 1890 to the present, with, however, a decline in the Japanese proportion of the total

TABLE I.

Japanese Population of Hawaii, 1890-1937

Year	Total Number Japanese	Percentage Increase of Japanese	Per Cent of Japanese to Total Population
1890	12,610		14.0
1896	24,407	94.3	22.4
1900	61,111	150.4	39.7
1910	79,675	30.4	41.5
1920	109,274	37.1	42.7
1930	139,631	27.7	37.9
1937†	149,886	7.3	38.2

37.2

population of Hawaii since 1920. During the period prior to 1920, the increase was chiefly a consequence of the excess of immigration over emigration, while the ratio of births to deaths has largely determined the increase since that time.

There has naturally been a good deal of misapprehension as to

1 Minutes of the Board of Immigration, March 19, 1868

2 A large proportion of the first arrivals returned to Japan during or following the completion of their labor contracts.

† Board of Health estimate. All other figures based upon census returns.

the biological capacities of a population which has increased so rapidly. The uncritical contention that "the Japanese breed like rabbits" finds little support in the facts. Like most recent immigrants, the Japanese in Hawaii have had low death rates and high birth rates. A population, 40.6 per cent of which was, in 1920, between the ages of twenty and forty-five, was obviously well situated to increase rapidly by the excess of births over deaths, and during the period 1921-25, the ratio of Japanese births to deaths in Hawaii was 4.08 to 1. But like all immigrant groups the Japanese have gradually reduced their rate of natural increase as they have become more accommodated to standards of living in the new environment, and in the period 1931-35 the ratio of Japanese births to deaths had dropped to 3.89 to 1, still considerably above that of all other ethnic groups in Hawaii. Although the Japanese births still constituted 38.8 per cent of all births in the Territory in the years 1931-35, the corrected rate (number of births per thousands women 20-44 years of age) was approximately the same as that of the total population and considerably lower than that of the Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, and Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians. The Japanese are responding to the same forces which have reduced the size of American families generally and with the passing of the first generation immigrants, who now constitute little more than one-fifth of the Japanese population, further reductions in the refined birth rates will occur.

Further evidence of Japanese conformity to American patterns of life and standards appear in their changing occupational and economic position. Although the great majority of the immigrants have begun life in the Territory at the foot of the social and economic ladder, as plantation laborers, they soon entered the struggle to achieve a higher status within the new environment. The Japanese, like most of the other immigrants, have sought to win positions of dignity and prestige, according to the standards which prevail in the immigrant community. Monetary success has governed their occupational striving to a very considerable degree during the early stages of their stay in the Territory, although other considerations, such as artistic and creative satisfactions, play an important part in the occupational ambitions of the second generation. There have been impediments to free movement, such as race prejudice and vested interests, but the remarkable fact about Hawaii's social situation has been the extent to which the various immigrant groups have been permitted to improve their occupational and economic status. The Japanese people of Hawaii in general have clearly surpassed their cousins in continental United States in the struggle for occupational preferment, owing chiefly to the greater economic opportunity open to Japanese in Hawaii. Table II. reveals a marked improvement between 1920 and 1930 of the occupational status of the Japanese in Hawaii judged by the occupations of the gainfully employed. The position of the Japanese now compares favorably with that of most groups in Hawaii and from the standpoint of economic adjustment they are considerably in advance of the recent immigrant groups.

TABLE II.

Percentage Distribution of Gainfully Employed Population of the Territory of Hawaii, 1920 and 1930, by Race and Social-Economic Classes

Classes	Japanese Population		Total Population	
	1920	1930	1920	1930
Professional .....	1.7	3.2	2.9	4.5
Proprietary .....	4.8	7.5	5.8	6.9
Clerical .....	2.1	8.4	6.3	8.4
Skilled .....	9.0	15.9	8.6	9.6
Semi-Skilled .....	.9	7.9	7.6	7.2
Independent Farming..	5.6	8.5	3.4	3.5
Domestic .....	11.6	14.3	7.3	7.9
Unskilled .....	64.3	34.3	58.1	52.0

There are certain occupations in which the Japanese have concentrated, but apparently none of any consequence in which they obtained exclusive control. Particularly in the skilled, semi-skilled, and domestic vocations, the Japanese immigrants have secured a disproportionate representation. Of the 92 separate occupations listed by the United States Census of Hawaii in 1930, the Japanese clearly outranked all other groups in the following fields: fishermen, carpenters, brick and stone masons, building contractors, auto mechanics, barbers, dressmakers, tailoresses, laundresses, and servants. The Japanese also ranked high as blacksmiths, painters, retail dealers, and chauffeurs. The second generation have aspired to positions in the professional and clerical fields, but the opportunities are so limited as to prevent any large number from entering.

Still another index of the rising status and Americanization of the Japanese in Hawaii is the proportion of their population who can and do participate in territorial elections. Since the Japanese immigrants are ineligible to naturalization, it is only in recent years since considerable numbers of the second generation have come of age that the Japanese have had a part in the political life of the Territory. As recently as 1920, the Japanese constituted only 2.5 per cent of the total number of registered voters of the Territory, but a decade later the Japanese voting strength had increased to 7,017 or 13.4 per cent of the total registered voters. Since 1930 the Japanese vote has increased rapidly in importance, although by no means as rapidly as many observers have predicted. By 1936, the Japanese voters made up approximately one quarter of the registered voters, and there are grounds for expecting that within another decade the citizens of Japanese ancestry will have reached the peak of their voting strength with approximately one third of the total vote. The Japanese voters in Hawaii, unlike the "immigrant" voters in continental United States, have been almost exclusively of the second generation, educated in American schools and with a longer period of experience in American democracy. As a consequence racial bloc voting has been

very slight<sup>3</sup> and a somewhat higher order of intelligence has been revealed in elections than is characteristic of most immigrant communities.

Other indices of Japanese participation in the wider life of the community, such as the use of American institutions of higher learning and the absence of crime, delinquency, and dependency, reveal a similar picture. Except insofar as intrusive factors operate to block the process, we may anticipate a further steady absorption of the Japanese population into the American-Hawaiian community of the Islands.

## CULTURAL CONFLICTS AND ACCOMMODATIONS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND GENERATION JAPANESE

MISAKO YAMAMOTO

My parents came to the shores of Hawaii some thirty odd years ago with the intention of making a fortune. Hawaii to them was only a stepping stone to that coveted end. Whatever their purposes were their coming has brought about a second generation—a native generation born of foreign stock—and subsequent conflicting attitudes and actions. They have brought about a new group, neither wholly Japanese nor wholly American, which is fully accepted by neither one of these groups. As a member of this second generation, I am confronted by a welter of problems. To be essentially Japanese or to be essentially American is my dilemma. Let me present problems as they exist in my family, which I consider a typical immigrant family. I shall describe and analyze those patterns of activity in family life which create the conflicting attitudes and actions.

My parents were both reared in a very small village in Hiroshima, Japan. They belonged to good, honest families, farmers for generations. Their marriage was greatly approved by both families. Father was the youngest of four children and mother, the eldest of two children.

In the early days of immigration to Hawaii, my maternal grandfather had the task of soliciting immigrants to go to Hawaii as plantation laborers. Finally, he too decided to make his fortune in Hawaii. The dazzling tales of "gold" in Hawaii were tempting to a simple-minded farmer like grandfather. He considered himself "well-off" as far as owning a home and farm in Japan was concerned, but he lacked money. Therefore, in 1889, he left Japan for Hawaii with a contract in his pocket on the fifth boat that brought immigrants from Japan to Hawaii.

He was prominent in his village, but here among the laborers, he found his influence even greater than before. Life wasn't so hard for him as it was for the others who had to work in the fields. He opened a boarding house with the consent of the plantation. Since most of the laborers were single men, he also conducted a

community bath house.<sup>1</sup> The boarding house became the meeting place for the entire Japanese community. It was natural for these people to gather at his place, for any immigrant in a strange land would seek to live where he could speak his own language and eat the kind of food which he was used to having in his homeland. It was natural for the laborers to seek protection under a capable leader who was sympathetic to their problems. Thus, grandfather, by virtue of his education and ability, became the camp counselor and settler of problems arising between the plantation and the workers.

Grandfather's prosperity influenced my father's coming to Hawaii. Father was a poor man, for when he married he did not get his share of the family land. The death of his father and the greed of his eldest brother left him without any property. Thus, like his father-in-law, his sole motive for migrating to Hawaii was to make money.

He came to Hawaii without his wife. He expected to earn a fortune in a few years and then return to Japan. He approached the gates of Hawaii with great expectation. However, his life on the plantation was not as easy as it had been for grandfather. He had to start from the lowest occupational scale. He had to go out into the fields and work as he never had before. Yet, he was willing to undergo the hardships in this strange and new environment, for he found in it something invigorating. Heretofore, he had enjoyed only a limited freedom in his homeland. Being the youngest in the family he had to submit not only to the constant authority of his parents but also of his elder brothers. On the plantation, he experienced real freedom for the first time.

Like the rest of the immigrant population, my father's one desire was to make good economically and then return to his native village. He wanted recognition by the people of the village who had known him since childhood. He wanted to show the people of the village that he had attained status by material means. Consequently, after laboring on the plantation for four and one-half years, he realized his goal and returned to Japan. The idea had never occurred to him to settle in the islands—it was a foreign land, and despite the advantages he enjoyed, he had no desire to stay in Hawaii. In Japan, however, he found that he could not be comfortable. He could not stay on the farm without finding fault with the way his relatives and friends lived. He found it difficult to readjust himself to their ways after experiencing the life of freedom of speech and action in Hawaii. Thus, he returned eagerly to Hawaii with new hopes and ambitions. This time mother ac-

1 The community bath house often became the centers of gossip and activity for the Japanese community. Here the immigrants gathered and gossiped about old times in Japan as well as of the events of the day. It was a common thing to find the keeper of the bathhouse in plantation communities serving as mailman, interpreter, and letter writer. Since most of the laborers were uneducated, the task of writing letters home in the accepted form was left to the educated bath-house keeper. Legal matters and interpretation of certain American practices were left to him. Often the laborers went to him to have their letters read and translated. This situation has been modified by the coming of Japanese women to Hawaii (making possible family life) and the establishment of language schools. However, the educated person still plays a prominent role in the affairs of the community.

<sup>3</sup> See A. W. Lind, "Voting in Hawaii", *Social Process in Hawaii*, Vol. 1, pp. 2-5.

accompanied him and the roots of our life found growth in the soil of the plantation.

My first recollection of the plantation life is that of the plantation kindergarten for the laborers' children. Every morning before daybreak mother left me protesting lustily at the kindergarten for she too worked in the fields. Many times I ran away from the kindergarten only to be brought back again. I never liked this place where the nurse with yellow hair made me do funny things and sing queer songs. I was afraid of her for she was the only one of her kind whom I saw mingling with the plantation laborers. Day after day, the only people I saw were those who looked like my family—black hair, slant eyes, and brownish-yellow skin.

There were two incidents that shifted and changed the course of my family. First, my eldest brother transferred from the country high school to the city school without the consent of my parents. His action was so unexpected that my parents were unable to cope with the situation.

Then my father became very ill. Even after his recovery, he could not endure the hard work of *hapai ko* or hauling sugar cane. He visited the shrines frequently. The gods of my father's ancestors had to be consulted before any move was made. Thus, with the consent of the family gods, our family left the plantation about fifteen years ago to live in Honolulu.

My parents sought out people of their own nationality and again settled among the Japanese group. This was inevitable for city life was new to them. It was natural for them to seek out people who spoke their own language and understood them. On the plantation they lived just as they lived in Japan, but in the city it was not possible to transplant in its entirety this life that was so close and familiar to them. We were no longer under the constant surveillance of our parents. We were growing up and developing thoughts and actions which deviated from the conventional patterns of our parents. Thus the family organization underwent radical change in this new environment.

Perhaps in no other place do the conflicts and accommodations of culture become more evident than in the Japanese home. There are the conflicts of age and youth, traditions and customs of parents against American mores and folkways, and the second generation with the established group in the community. These processes are going on in every Japanese family where there is a member of the second generation. It also holds true of all immigrant groups, but the Japanese immigrants have more difficulty than the European immigrants in adapting themselves to the American ways. The contrast between the two civilizations is greater and causes deeper conflicts.

At home, we have beds as well as *futon*, or Japanese mattresses for use on the floor. We sleep on the one we prefer, but no one in the family, except mother, uses the *futon*. She will not sleep on a bed. Whenever we insist that she sleep on the bed she concedes; but it is not uncommon on such occasions to see mother wake up in the middle of the night to lay out the *futon* and sleep on the floor. We use chairs, but we also use *zabuton*,

or Japanese cushions. A dresser stands in one corner, while a *kyodai* (Japanese bureau) stands in another corner of the bedroom. Japanese picture frames are hung beside American picture frames. The Japanese home of the typical middle class group in Hawaii is a mixture of both civilizations. The homes show a certain amount of adaptation and adoption of phases of American life, even in the exterior appearances.

In a Japanese home the father is the head and is usually the one who directs the interests of the family group. He is the judge in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the family and is the official representative of the family in civic affairs. The mother stays at home and sees that the father has every possible comfort. She is considered a servant to her husband in the sense that he is her lord and master—his will is hers. This holds true to a large degree in our family; but more and more, mother is considered on an equal level with father. That is the position we children have given her and in most instances she seems to have the last word, just like an American woman! Gradually she is assuming the role of the boss of the family and holder of the purse strings. This does not mean that she no longer respects father. It is the economic and the social factors in the Islands which makes such a situation possible.

My parents never display affection for each other. They consider it bad form. Therefore, words of endearment are lacking their conversation. The Americans call each other by their first names, but father, instead of calling mother by her name, always says *oi* which is equivalent to *hey* in the American vernacular.<sup>2</sup> Mother calls him *oto-san*, which means father.

Due to the traditional conception that the woman is inferior to man, a husband does not seem to have intimate companionship with his wife in the immigrant Japanese homes. The close intimate feeling that exists in the American homes does not exist in the Japanese homes. The social life of the first generation is very limited. Once a year my parents go to the prefecture picnic. They eagerly look forward to the occasion, for at this gathering, the *ken* (prefectural) people get together and talk of old times and of their homes in Japan. Aside from this, their only diversion is going to the movies or gossiping with neighbors. They prefer the Japanese movies since they do not understand English sufficiently to enjoy the American movies. My mother's experience is, I think, a typical one. Until talkies were introduced, she had never seen an American movie. When the talkies were first shown, I persuaded her to see one. She did not understand it, and furthermore she disapproved of the kissing scenes. That was the only American movie she has seen.

In the average Japanese home there is a noticeable lack of companionship between parents and children in the spending of leisure time. It is a very rare occasion in our family today when we ever have breakfast together. Each member prepares his own breakfast and goes about independently for the rest of the

2. More often the term used is *Oka-san* which literally means mother.

day. We seldom see each other in the mornings. Our evenings are never spent together—one goes to the library, the other to the movies, and another to work. We no longer go on family trips or picnics as we did when we were youngsters. I long to go on such trips with my parents, but this does not seem possible despite the fact that we have a family car.

Boys are considered superior to girls in the Japanese family. My eldest brother is deemed the legal heir to the family fortune. His comfort comes before ours, inasmuch as he is the one to perpetuate our family name. It is the custom of the family that the father and the eldest son are to be served first. Then, the younger boys are served and are followed by the mother and the girls according to their age. Being the youngest, I have always resented being served last. However, there are times when I am considered first because my brothers do not consider themselves superior to the girls despite the fact that they have been taught to expect special privileges.

The influence of authority and tradition cannot be overlooked in parent-child contacts. One of the basic ideals of Japanese life is filial piety. This ideal has been stressed in the home education of the second and third generations through gestures and definitions by parents. The Japanese revere age. Japanese custom demands that courtesy be shown to elders on all occasions. This is expected especially of youth. The thought of sending the aged to the poor house is inconceivable to them. The first as well as the second generation cannot understand how *haoles* can send their parents to charity institutions. Parents and elders are addressed as superiors. Even to this day, I say *Tada ima ite kairi masu* (May I leave now) when leaving and *Tada ima ite kairi mashita* (I have returned) when I return.

Birth control is a taboo subject in the Japanese home. In fact, many regard it as immoral. The second generation with its educational advancement is more informed along such lines. This knowledge has been gained chiefly through contact with friends and through medical sources and books. We do not believe in having large families. Both my brother and sister have been married for many years. My brother has remained childless for more than ten years of married life, while my sister had a child only recently. The second generation is not as prolific as the first generation. This is due to the acceptance of American cultural patterns and a desire for a better standard of living.

To the Japanese people, the three most important events in their life are birth, marriage and death. These are celebrated accordingly. Most of the second generation were delivered with the aid of midwives and in many cases their fathers were the only attendants. Such was the case in my family. Medical and hospital care were unthought of in the early days. It was and is still a great event in the life of the Japanese parents when their first born is a son. Great ceremony is performed in honor of the first born, and on naming him, a great feast is prepared. Gifts are received from relatives and friends. The names are usually derivatives of their grandfathers' or grandmothers' names. No

American names are given, and those American names which the second generation Japanese have today were adopted by them at a later age or given them by their teachers who had a difficult time pronouncing their unfamiliar Japanese names.

Since marriage is one of the important events in life, the parents expect to pick the bride for their son. Marriage is looked upon as a family affair and not a personal matter. Parents believe that the welfare of the family (in future years) will come about with the successful marriage of their eldest son. This is one of the reasons why the second generation Japanese girl does not care to marry the eldest son of a family. She is afraid that she will find herself married not to the son, but to the whole family. The *baishokunin*, or "go-between", makes all the arrangements for the marriage. According to Japanese philosophy, love is not essential before marriage, but is something which comes after marriage. Americans often view Japanese marriages as forced unions, but this is not true, for before the betrothal is announced, both parties have a perfect right to make their decisions known. The second generation is getting away from the traditional modes and, if the "go-between" takes any part at all, he enters as a formality to please the old folks.

Because of the importance of marriage in one's life, no expense is spared to make it an elaborate affair. Families often spend all their savings for the occasion and newly-weds frequently start their married life with a large debt incurred from an elaborate ceremony. The marriage ceremony is usually held at a shrine or a temple.

American social life has equalized the status of the male and female. No longer is a girl regarded as inferior to the male, and thus, when the emphasis is placed upon the boy, conflict arises. The second generation idealizes the American type of marriage where intimacy and companionship exist between the wife and husband. Romantic love is the basis of their marriage. The American custom of giving showers for the bride-elect has been adopted quite extensively, and the groom usually gives a bachelor's dinner.

The desire of the second generation members is to secure a fuller life than that of their parents. They think of life in terms of progress and they are, unlike their parents, individualistic because of their contacts with the wider community. The first generation thinks of life as being static and unchanging and develops personalities which reflect the group patterns.

With the second generation Japanese, American folkways and mores have gradually displaced many of the customs and traditions of their parents. The young people of Hawaiian birth who are educated in American schools and who enjoy wider social contacts than their parents find it difficult to conform to the traditional Japanese standards. The second generation is educated in the Japanese forms of courtesy in the language schools, but their sentiments favor the freer American ways. We call each other "dear", "honey", and "sweetheart" just as casually as *haole* boys do. We walk arm in arm with boys and let them "date" us. The young people no longer bow to each other



but shake hands and greet each other with "hello there" and "hi there". Even among our parents the forms of Japanese courtesy are no longer strictly observed. Despite the fact that boys are served first at home and taught to expect privileges, this does not prevail in their social life outside the home. The second generation Japanese boy, like any *haole* lad, seats and serves the ladies first. Though New Year is still one of the most celebrated events in the Japanese home, my family no longer stays home to spend the night together. We no longer have the customary last supper of the year together as in the old Japanese family. Instead, New Year's eve is spent in hilarity as in an average *haole* home. The young folks usually spend their New Year's eve at a dance. Then they return home in the early hours of the morning and sleep until noon. This situation which exists in many of the urban homes tends to undermine family solidarity and morale. Conditions are slightly different in the rural areas where the institutional aspects of the family are largely unchanged. This matter is of deep concern to our parents, who say that such actions will obstruct our chances to marry into a respectable home. This breakdown of familial control over the second generation is taking place in many Japanese homes as an inevitable result of the influences of American education and the freer American traditions.

Conflict is inevitable in this changing cultural situation. Conflict is severest where parents hold on to the idea of some day returning to Japan with their children and thus attempting to rear their children in the strictly Japanese fashion. However, the conflict is less severe in most homes where the parents are realizing that their children must become Americans, and are honestly attempting to adjust themselves to the situation.

There was a time when I was looked upon as the disturbing element in the family. I was radical, always dazzling my parents with something new. They said that I imitated the American boys and girls, that I was trying to be "haolefied". At first my parents insisted on my accepting Japanese customs, but they have gradually yielded to my desires to be like the other girls of the neighborhood. I distinctly remember the day I bobbed my long hair. Since all the girls were wearing bobbed hair, I didn't want to look different with my long hair. After begging and pleading for six months, my parents finally consented. I had it trimmed so short that I looked like a boy. They called me *otemba* or tom-boy, but it did not concern me because now I looked like the rest of my playmates. On another occasion, I shocked my parents by nonchalantly walking down the lane into my home in a pair of slacks (they called it pants). Imagine what a step I was taking! I had borrowed this pair from a friend of mine whose parents were lenient. My parents ordered me to take them off, but I defied them. After much pleading, I finally prevailed upon them to let me dress like the other girls and by the time I began wearing shorts, my parents were well acquainted with my desire to be like other girls. They no longer protested.

Perhaps one of the most serious conflicts arises through the language difficulty. I tried to speak English at home because my teacher told me that if I wanted to be "smart" in English, I had to use it at home. My parents put a stop to this. They told me that I could speak English outside of home, but not before them. They could not understand English, and therefore, they didn't want anyone of the family to speak English before them. So, we speak Japanese before them, but English among ourselves.

The second generation does not speak Japanese fluently. Therefore, in their contact with parents and older folks, misunderstanding often develops. The younger folks, who no doubt mean to be polite, but who have not sufficiently, if at all, mastered the exacting Japanese language to adequately express themselves, are often misunderstood and berated for being rude and disrespectful to the elders in their speech.<sup>3</sup> There is a tendency for the first generation to think that their children are deliberately trying to forget the Japanese language in order to become more Americanized, and with it, they fear the loss of Japanese customs and traditions which they cherish so dearly. The younger folks, at the same time, shun contacts with the elders due to this Japanese language deficiency.

Another source of conflict in a Japanese home lies in the divergent religious beliefs of parents and children—the one being Buddhist and the other Christian. I do not disapprove my parent's worshipping of the Buddha. Their ritualistic procedure such as incense burning, placing food before the shrine, and the shrine worship does not bother me at all as long as they let me worship in the manner I desire. This liberty of religious choice has been given me, although my parents are staunch Buddhist. Although I am a Christian, I still observe some of their rituals. I place food before the shrine and fast on the 16th of each month (the date on which Buddha was born). I follow these rituals not because I want to, but because I have found that it makes for harmony in the family. I have also learned not to contradict my parent's belief that the Emperor is God. When speaking of the Emperor of Japan, they use an altogether different and more respectful mode of expression. The "Son of Heaven", although respected by the children of immigrants, does not hold a place

<sup>3</sup> The Japanese language is very exacting in the use of keigo, or honorific expressions; so much so that the correct usage of these terms necessitates much study and practice. In polite conversation, when referring to things or persons which belong, or are related to those whom we address, respect is indicated by prefixing *o* or *go* to the noun indicating the possessed object. For example, the words *uchi* and *ryoshin*. Without the honorific *o* and *go* they mean "my home" and "my parents" while *go-ryoshin* means "your parents." When asking his superior when they have returned, one will ask, "Itsu o-kaeri ni narimashita ka?" instead of "Itsu kaeri mashita ka?" These are the simpler ways of denoting respect; more complicated changes are involved besides prefixes. It is only fair to indicate here that the mastery of these forms alone is not sufficient. There is the yet more difficult task of applying these varying degrees of honorifics to the appropriate occasions. Depending upon the situation, anything except the correct usage may make for either rudeness or absurdity. It is small wonder, therefore, that the English-speaking Hawaiian born Japanese find polite conversation in the language of their parents so difficult.—Based on Oreste Vacarri & Mrs. Elisa Vacarri, "Complete Course of Japanese Conversation and Grammar," pp. 190-210.



of reverence in their hearts as he does in the hearts of the members of the first generation.

My parents who came here thirty years ago to make their fortunes are still living in Hawaii. They have gone back to Japan from time to time, but they have always returned to the land of their settlement. They have found that going back to Japan involved difficulties in readjustment. They have changed, but they do not wish to forget Japan. They say that they still owe their allegiance to the Emperor. Though they emphatically state this, I am sure that the problem of rearing and educating their children has been shifting their interest from Japan to Hawaii and the regard they have for Japan is now just a sentimental attachment.

The processes of conflict and accommodation are taking place continuously in the Japanese families in Hawaii. The lot of my family represents a rather common experience among the average immigrant families. The problems arising between the first and the second generation are primarily caused by the clash of cultures and the struggle between age and youth. However, in this constantly changing milieu, there are still surviving some fundamental Japanese ideals as filial piety and respect for the aged.

The first generation, because of strong sentimental attachments to Japanese behavior patterns and because of infrequent and limited contacts with American cultural patterns, have resisted the changes which threatened to destroy their traditions and customs. Their adaptation took place because it was absolutely necessary for their survival on Hawaiian soil. On the other hand, we of the second generation, immersed as we are almost wholly in the ways of the West, have accepted American cultural patterns more rapidly. The American patterns have become an integral part of our lives. But the fact cannot be denied that we are not fully accepted by the race whose ways we have adopted. At the same time we are misunderstood by our own kind. What is to become of the bi-cultural product of Hawaii?



## "BON" AND "BON-ODORI" IN HAWAII

KATSUMI ONISHI

With the introduction of Buddhism into Hawaii came the *Bon* festival, which, to the Japanese, is one of the two great holidays of the year, the other being New Year's Day. *Bon*, falling as it does in the middle of the year, July 15, holds a particular significance to the Japanese. If New Year's Day represents birth, *Bon* is the period of full bloom, to be followed by the end of the year, symbolizing death.<sup>1</sup>

*Origin of Bon.* The observance of *Bon* as a season to honor the dead was an ancient primitive religious custom, antedating the advent of Buddhism in Japan.<sup>2</sup> The introduction of Buddhism with its version of *Bon* into Japan in 552 A. D. merely served to strengthen and give added significance to the existing folkway. For this reason, although *Bon* today is regarded chiefly as a Buddhistic function, the festival is observed in many Japanese Christian homes in Hawaii by visits to the graves of the dead ancestors, not in observance of the Buddhistic *Bon*, but as an expression of a beautiful traditional folkway of old Japan.

The Buddhistic word *Bon* is a contradiction of *Urabon* which in turn is a corruption of the Sanskrit term *ullambara* meaning "to salvage souls from the agony of being hanged head down."

The Buddhistic origin of *Bon* is found in the scriptures and is well described by Lafcadio Hearn.

"Dai-Mokenren, the great disciple of Buddha, obtained by merit the Six Supernatural Powers. And by virtue of them it was given him to see the soul of his mother in the *Gakido*—the world of spirits doomed to suffer hunger in expiation of faults committed in a previous life. Mokenren saw that his mother suffered much; he grieved exceedingly because of her pain, and he filled a bowl with choicest food and sent it to her. He saw her try to eat; but each time that she tried to lift the food to her lips it would change into fire and burning embers, so that she could not eat. Then Mokenren asked the Teacher what he could do to relieve his mother from pain. And the Teacher made this answer 'On the fifteenth day of the seventh month, feed the ghosts of the great priests of all countries.' And Mokenren, having done so, saw that his mother was freed from the state of *Gaki*, and that she was dancing for joy. This is the origin also of the dances called *Bon-odori*, which are danced on the third night of the Festival of the Dead throughout Japan."<sup>3</sup>

The version that Mokenren's mother danced with a *bon*, a round Japanese tray, and thereby gave the name *Bon-odori* to the dance, is obviously an addition to the story after the introduction of Buddhism into Japan from Korea.

*Bon*, then, honors and reveres the memory of the ancestors and helps to stimulate and to encourage ancestor worship and filial

<sup>1</sup> Heibonsha, "Dai-Hyakka-Jiten", Vol. 24 p. 1

<sup>2</sup> Heibonsha, "Dai-Hyakka-Jiten", Vol. 24 p. 5

<sup>3</sup> Lafcadio Hearn, "Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan," Vol. 1 pp. 125-126

piety. It is the occasion when the spirits of the dead return to visit their former existence. On the last night of the three day visit by the departed souls, a dance is held to entertain and cheer them on their journey back to the land of the dead. This is the *Bon-odori* that we see in Hawaii.

*Bon in Hawaii.* From late June to early September, the Buddhists in Hawaii observe the *Bon* festival, the most conspicuous feature of which is the *Bon-odori* that goes along with the occasion. Normally, *Bon* itself falls on July 13, 14, and 15, but in Hawaii the season is lengthened for three reasons:

1. The temple may observe *Bon* according to either the solar or the lunar calendar, there being approximately a month's difference in time.

2. The practice of having a priest from a neighboring temple as guest speaker for the services tends to prolong the *Bon* season.

3. In an effort to make the *Bon-odori* a success, the sponsors try to choose a weekend relatively free of *Bon* dances in the neighboring communities. Except for Honolulu, rarely does a community witness two sponsors attempting *Bon-odori* on the same week end. Should such an occurrence be unavoidable, two different kinds of dances would most likely be featured for there are about four popular varieties of dance to choose from. This postponement of the dance and the practice of stealing a march on the other fellow usually prolong the *Bon* season for several weeks.

The Buddhists in Hawaii observe *Bon* or *O-bon* in much the same way as they did in Japan. The altar of the family shrine receives a special cleaning and is decorated more elaborately than on ordinary days. Fruits, *O-dango* (a kind of steamed wheat cake), *mochi*, candy or *somen* (Japanese macaroni), may take the place of the usual offering of rice. A *chochin* or Japanese lantern is lighted before the shrine a week before and during the festival. Flowers from the florist's replace the usual *o-hana* (flowers) from the family backyard.

On the first *Bon* following the death of any member of the family, the relatives and friends bring *chochin* to decorate the home. The lighted lanterns, beautiful in shape, of all sizes and designs, present a gay picture and, hanging closely together, 50 to 100 in number, are supposed to help relieve the gloom and sorrow occasioned by the departed ones.

Relatives, neighbors, and close friends are invited to attend the services held at home for the dead person, usually two or three nights before the observance of *Bon* at the temple. While the priest is chanting the *sutras*, a tray with an incense burner is passed around. The head of the family offers and burns incense and prays to the memory of the dead one. Next come the members of the immediate family after which the tray is passed on to the relatives and finally to the friends and the neighbors. All this while, the priest continues to chant the *sutras*. As soon as everyone has finished burning incense, a brief and appropriate sermon, followed by a reading from the scriptures, completes the services. The group is then served foods in which no meat or fish has been used. The memory of the deceased is recalled and the crowd gra-

dually relapses into general discussion. Not long after, the people start to leave with much bowing and profuse thanks on the part of both the hosts and the guests.

After the services, most of the lanterns are donated to the temple to be used for the *Bon* festival. If they are kept, they are used again the next year.

On the first night of *Bon*, special open air services are held at the local cemetery by the priest. The graveyard is clean, for a week before *Bon* the young men and women of the community have turned out *en masse* for a general cleanup of the cemetery. White hanging lanterns are hung before the graves which are decorated with flowers. Offerings of fruit, candy and *mochi* are also made. Incense is burned and prayers are offered for the dead whose souls are supposed to visit this earth yearly at *Bon*. At twilight, scores of people can be seen moving quietly about the graves. The white smoke rises endlessly from the sticks of burning incense. The lighted lanterns flicker uncertainly in the dusk; occasionally a sudden flare from a burning lantern lights up the scene. In the distance can be heard the monotonous chanting of the *sutras* by the priest.

At the temples, decorated with colored electric lights and scores of lanterns, of all shapes, sizes, and designs are held special services for the dead. Visiting priests supply an incentive for the people to attend. As is usual in most Buddhist temples in Hawaii, the older people far outnumber the younger. Boys of the second generation are notoriously poor in temple attendance and the girls usually outnumber them.

*The Bon-Odori.* The most attractive feature of the season to the second generation Japanese is the *Bon-odori* or dance that goes along with the observance of the festival of the dead. The *Bon-odori* is usually held in the temple yard where an impromptu shed called *yagura*, fifteen to twenty feet high, is erected in the center for the drummers, the singers and the musicians. The people dance in a large ring around this *yagura*, which is decorated with lanterns, red and white cloth, the traditional colors for all festivities, and cherry blossoms made of tissue paper and tinted with red ink. As the musicians sing and the beat of the drums create the rhythm, the dancer wave their arms, shuffle their feet forward and backward, sway their bodies in unison and finally end by clapping their hands. Every once in a while, the dancers shout in chorus, *Betcho-betcho, dokkoi-sho, Arya-sa korya dokkoi to-na*, or *Tenyo-tenyo-ichiriki-ye-sa-sa*, depending upon the dance. In a particularly popular dance like the *Niigata*, six or seven hundred may dance in three or four large rings so close together that to make a complete circuit may take fully an hour. Any one may join in the fun of dancing to the chant and the continual thump-thump of the drums. In spite of an old Japanese saying that "he who dances is a lunatic; he who looks on is a fool" (*odori wa kichigai, miru wa baka*), the crowd that gather to see these dances number well into the thousands. The male dancers are clad in *kimono* called *yukata* while the girls are resplendent in their gay *kimono* and *obi* (sash). Each dancer has a towel, a contribution

from the sponsors, thrown around his neck. Under the light of a full moon, a well conducted *Bon-odori* with dancers properly dressed and carefully trained is a sight well worth seeing. However, such is a rare occasion.

The *Bon-odori* of Hawaii are primitive folk dances of Japan transplanted bodily by the immigrants. These dances are believed by some authorities to have been in existence when Buddhism was first introduced into Japan.<sup>4</sup> With the rise in power of Buddhism as a religious force in Japan, it gradually absorbed the customs and folkways of the primitive religions and made *Bon* and *Bon-odori* a purely Buddhist function. However that may be, the dances popular in Hawaii are of four varieties, the *Niigata*, the *Fukushima*, the *Iwakuni* and the *Ryukyu odori*. All are named after the prefectures of origin, except the *Iwakuni odori* which is named from the city of Iwakuni in Yamaguchi prefecture.

*Different Bon Dances.* The *Iwakuni odori* is the most graceful and the most beautiful of all the *Bon-odori* in Hawaii. Its chief beauty lies in the stately, deliberately paced rhythm and in the graceful sweep of the hands. Executed properly, it is one of the finest folk dances to be introduced into Hawaii. The quiet leisurely tempo of the accompanying drum and chant, easily distinguishable by two intervals between the beats of the drum, the first long and second short, followed by a clapping of the hands after the second interval, permits the dancers many variations which are impossible in the other dances. Common are the umbrella and the fan dances, each with at least three versions. Among the more elaborate variations are sword fighting and the dance of the forty-seven *ronin*. A clever device by which the dancer lights an electric flashlight bulb on his forehead at each beat of the drum adds to the novelty of the dance and is very popular with the youngsters.

Four or five drummers, each keeping time with the dancers take turns in beating the drum attached to the lower part of the *yagura*. Often the center of attraction of an admiring group of children, their fancy twirling and clever manipulation of the drumsticks and the unusual pose these drummers take to strike the drum are as much a part of the exhibition as the dances.

Another feature of the *Iwakuni odori* that distinguishes itself from the other dances is the official chanter—*ondo-kudoki*—who stands on the platform of the *yagura*, with an open umbrella in one hand and a fan in the other, and chants an episode from a popular drama of old Japan. A clever singer may meet the approval of the fans by a recitation of a modern tale, but the usual run of chanters stick to the standard stock-in-trade favorites of filial piety, valor, and chivalry of old Japan. The older folks sit by the hour, oblivious of the noise and the revelry going around them, and listen enraptured to the different stories sung by the different chanters in turn. A chanter usually receives \$5.00 a night for his services, plus any *hana* (literally flower) or money from admiring fans. However, to the second generation youth, the chanters mean

very little, due to their poor command of Japanese and to the unfamiliar background of most of the stories. To them, the chanters are just a necessary adjunct to the dance.

It is only natural that the dances of Niigata and Fukushima prefectures, which are next door neighbors in Japan, should be similar. Both dances are lively and spirited. Similar in tempo to the American fox-trot, these two are particularly popular with the second generation. Youths of other races who join in the fun experiences little difficulty in mastering the simple steps. Danc-ing the *Niigata* or *Fukushima odori* is quite exhausting and few can continue to keep up the pace without some rest. The soloist on the *yagura* sings at the top of his voice in order to be heard above the din of the drums. One of the dancers may burst into a song which is joined in by the others. The distinguishing marks of these dances are the use of the *minteki* (flute) and the fast and furious tempo of the incessant drum beating.

The latest addition to the *Bon* dances is the *Ryukyu odori*, commonly known as the *Okinawa odori*, with its primitive and plaintive music. Its popularity among the spectators rivals that of the *Iwakuni odori*, but the number of participants is limited because of the intricate and numerous parts to the dance. Most of the dancers are trained from two to three weeks in advance; the general public does not participate in these dances as it does in the others. The *Ryukyu odori* is easily distinguished from the others by the drummers (usually two) who are at the head of the ring of dancers beating time on a small drum. The use of a low pitched *samisen* (three stringed instrument) and the monotonously plaintive singing on the *yagura* are the unique features of the dance.

Paradoxically, the people who come from Hiroshima prefecture in Japan have failed to perpetuate their dance in Hawaii, in spite of their large numbers here.<sup>5</sup> Some ten years ago, the *Oko-odori* of Hiroshima was introduced, but as soon as its novelty wore off after a season or two, it disappeared completely from active competition as a *Bon* dance. The *Oko-odori* itself is leisurely like the *Iwakuni* but without the distinctive features of the latter and not lively enough to suit the taste of the second generation. Probably these two things explain the early disappearance of the *Oko-odori* of Hiroshima.

*Bon and the Second Generation.* The average second generation youth has a rather hazy notion of *Bon* and its meaning. He remembers the occasion as a Japanese Memorial Day—to honor the dead. Should he be a Buddhist, a death in his family brings home the meaning of *Bon* rather forcibly to him. Should he be an avid *Bon-odori* fan, he anticipates the approach of *Bon* with eagerness; if not, *Bon* is just another Japanese festival. He participates in the *Bon-odori* more for the pleasure and fun he derives from it than for the religious significance attached to it, namely, to entertain the spirits of the dead. He very seldom attends the *Bon* services at the temples. To him, *Bon-odori* is a social event

4 Heibonsha, "Dai-Hyakka-Jiten," Vol. 24, Pg. 5

5 In 1924, 21% of the Japanese population in Hawaii claimed Hiroshima as their home prefecture. (Statement of Dr. Andrew W. Lind)

in much the same way as American dancing is recreation. He drives out to a dance with his friends, enjoys a good evening of free entertainment and bothers little about its meaning or its effects on him. As often as not, Christians and non-church goers participate in these dances as well as Buddhists.

Occasionally, one does come across instances where *Bon* is deeply appreciated and is observed for what it is. A restaurant owner in Honolulu, having lost his mother and father within a year, sponsored an elaborate *Bon-odori* in memory of his parents, paying for all the expenses involved in staging the dance. Another youth, on the first *Bon* following his father's death, declared that he was dancing to welcome his father's spirit back to earth, although he had never danced the *Bon-odori* before. Another young man, Christian by faith, observes *Bon* by visiting the graves of his parents who were Buddhists, offers incense and makes the usual offerings of candy, oranges, and lanterns.

With the second generation having such a hazy idea of the meaning of *Bon*, it is not surprising that the religious element in the *Bon-odori* is almost completely gone. Although the dances are still sponsored by the temples, the *Bon-odori* has been almost completely secularized and is now regarded as a purely seasonal social affair and to be enjoyed as such. To the second generation, *Bon-odori* is a departure from the American style of dancing. To sway to the marked rhythm of a Fukushima dance and to clap hands in unison help to while away a pleasant summer evening when dancing in stuffy overcrowded dance halls becomes more of an ordeal than enjoyment. To the hundreds who do not dance at all, these affairs have enough color to attract them in huge numbers every weekend. One is bound to meet unexpected friends in the big crowd of people who assemble to witness these affairs. The *Bon-odori* serves as a fine recreational center for the young folks. Many a romance has blossomed from casual acquaintances at these dances to culminate in marriage. Even in the strictest of families where American dancing is strictly taboo, the girls are allowed to participate in the general merrymaking and given a chance to enjoy themselves. All in all, *Bon* is a season when friends reunite, boys meet girls and everyone is generally in a gay mood.

A significant development can be seen in the contributions to the *Bon-odori* fund. Formerly the *Bon-odori* was a source of profitable income to the temple that sponsored one. After the expenses for the drummers, musicians, chanters, food and towels had been paid, a neat profit amounting to \$150 or \$200 was not uncommon. Lately, the revenue has been dropping gradually, due to the decrease in numbers of first generation Japanese who still are the chief supporters of the temples, and the reluctance of the second generation to donate more than a mere pittance toward the *Bon-odori*. Invariably, the contributions by the second generation are smaller than the amounts donated by the first generation. Of the numerous dancers who travel from one community to another enjoying the hospitality of the temples, very few, if any, offer any sum to help support these dances. One temple has already consi-

dered the possibility of abolishing the dance because of the great expense involved, while another has not sponsored a *Bon* dance for the last five years.

On the other hand, in those communities where the *Bon-odori* are still very popular and profitable, the second generation has taken the lead in sponsoring and staging these dances. Through careful planning and hard work, these affairs are financial successes, although the support still comes largely from the first generation. By taking over the work of staging these dances, the boys and girls of the second generation are fulfilling a duty of filial piety and helping to preserve the friendly relations between the two generations.

*Modifications in Hawaii.* These folk dances transplanted from Japan have been modified during the twenty odd years since their introduction into Hawaii. Many of the finer points of each dance have been lost while newer features have been added. The *Niigata* and the *Fukushima odori* have degenerated the most in the hands of the second generation in Hawaii. Very little changes is noticeable in the *Iwakuni* and the *Ryukyu odori*, although one seldom sees the numerous variations of the umbrella and the fan dances which make the *Iwakuni odori* so colorful.

In the *Fukushima odori*, what was once a dignified and manly dance is now a leap-frog affair with no regard for the proper coordination of the hands and the feet. The hands, instead of being waved gracefully and smoothly, are thrust out jerkily and awkwardly somewhat in the manner of a man shadow boxing an opponent at close range. In the inelegant if somewhat expressive language of one youngster: "We like the *Betcho* best (meaning the *Niigata* and the *Fukushima odori*). We go git 'em. We no dance, we jump around"—is reflected the change that has taken place in these dances. Another young man terms the *Niigata* and the *Fukushima odori* as the Japanese version of American truckin'. A first generation woman from Fukushima declares, "The drummers and the musicians are excellent, for they come from Japan, but the dancing is terrible. In the Fukushima dance there is no jumping and there is correct coordination of the hands and the feet. What the young folks are dancing is the Hawaii *odori* and not *Fukushima odori*."

The Hawaiian born boys and girls dance the *Niigata* and the *Fukushima adori* in identically the same manner — the Hawaii *odori* just mentioned — and fail to differentiate between the two. They refer to these dances simply as the *Betcho-odori* because the dancers sing out *Betcho-betcho* at frequent interval in these *odori*. The term, used commonly and innocently enough in Hawaii, is really a vulgar expression (not standard Japanese, but a form of dialect from Fukushima) which is used only by people of the lowest type. When and who introduced it is not known, but the expression has become popular. However, very few, if any, of the young boys and girls who shout *Betcho-betcho* in the *odori* seem to know its true meaning.

In all of the *Bon-odori* in Japan, the dancers disguise themselves by costume, makeup or by the simple expedient of a towel

over their faces. When the *Bon-odori* was first started in Hawaii, the dancers followed the old country custom of concealing their faces, and part of the fun of the *Bon-odori* lay in trying to identify the dancers, especially the shy girls. Today, practically no one takes the trouble to conceal his face; to do so is to be old-fashioned and unconventional. The towel which every dancer is entitled to receive from the sponsors is now thrown or tied around his neck. Although the towel has lost its usefulness in Hawaii, it is still given out to each dancer.

During the *Bon* season in 1932, a group of new dances called the *ondo*, set to modern music, was introduced from Japan. The overwhelming popularity of these *ondo* threatened for a time the very existence of the regular *Bon-odori*. A keen theatrical promoter who saw financial possibilities in these dances staged the first of series of *ondo* contests. A group of 50 to 75 dancers dressed alike would compete with other groups for cash prizes. Each group would present a dance for ten or fifteen minutes to the strains of an Occidental orchestra. At the end of the competitive program, the audience would be invited to participate in the different dances including the traditional *Bon-odori*. Until the novelty of these affairs wore off, they were highly profitable; in fact, a number of organizations composed of second generation members have found these contests a highly successful method of raising funds.

Although non-religious in origin, these dances, coinciding at the summer season with the *Bon* festival, made serious inroads into the popularity of the *Bon-odori*. Many a protest was raised against this commercialization of the "sacred *Bon-odori*" and numerous religious organizations passed resolutions condemning these practices. However, the more liberal minded pointed out that the *Bon-odori* had already been so secularized that the added fact of commercial exploitation was really nothing to get excited about.

Then, the sponsors of the *Bon-odori*, capitalizing on the immense popularity of these new type dances, began to incorporate them as a part of their regular *Bon-odori* program. This shrewd move no doubt helped to hasten the doom of the *ondo* contests. With this invasion of the modern style of dancing, a new feature has been added to the *Bon-odori* in Hawaii. Instead of just the *Iwakuni* or the *Niigata odori* being danced exclusively on one night, part of the evening would be devoted to the *Tokyo Ondo*, the *Sakura Ondo*, the *Hanami-odori* or others too numerous to mention. This change in the program necessitated the introduction of the saxophone, the guitar, the violin and other Occidental orchestral instruments and, of course, the inevitable loud speaker. Those who cannot afford to hire an orchestra resort to the radio-phonograph for their music.

To counteract the influence of these *ondo*, the *Bukkyo Ongaku Kyokai* (Buddhist Musical Association) has issued a song, "*Bon-odori*", religious in meaning, with modern orchestral accompaniment, but it has had little or no success in Hawaii. It is possible that most of the temples do not even know of the existence of this dance.

*Opposition to Bon-odori.* The *Bon-odori* has come in for its share of criticism. The late hours kept by the dancers for many weekends are very bad for them, it is pointed out. At the same time, the dust that is stirred up in an evening's constant shuffling of myriads of feet on the bare ground (seldom is a temple ground or school yard planted with grass) is breathed in by the dancers and the spectators—a situation that is far from hygienic.

Strenuous opposition arises from the amount of drinking that goes on at these affairs and its attendant results. During the days of Prohibition, some of the opponents of the dances tried to discredit the sponsors by pointing out the drinking that went on, but the police tactfully ignored these protests on the grounds that the liquor was used for religious purposes. As an aftermath of drinking, fights are not infrequent. Sometimes, these occur right among the dancers, often in the neighborhood, and, although a hired policeman is always nearby, the disturbance is annoying, if not actually dangerous to the populace.

Considerable agitation has been stirred that these *odori* tend to lower and endanger the morals of the younger set. In spite of the existence of a curfew law, children are allowed to run loose, often times unchaperoned until late in the night to mingle with adults. The long rides to and from the dances are contributory causes to the moral laxity of the younger set, it is claimed. The sloppy manner in which the dancers dress—a kimono flung carelessly over the shirt and trousers—is held to be a lowering of moral standards.

The *Bon* festival, in spite of its religious significance, has become so secularized that most of its meaning is lost among the second generation in Hawaii. There seems to be a somewhat decreasing attendance among the ranks of the dancers as well as the spectators, but the crowds are still very large. Many of the second generation youths look forward eagerly to the coming of the *Bon* season as a social event. Others simply ignore the *Bon-odori*. In spite of some opposition to the *Bon-odori*, they will remain with us for some time as a seasonal social affair to be enjoyed by both the young and the old.



PARTICIPATION OF CITIZENS OF CHINESE AND  
JAPANESE ANCESTRY IN THE POLITICAL  
LIFE OF HAWAII

AN ABSTRACT OF A PAPER BY  
F. EVERETT ROBISON

To what extent do citizens of Chinese and Japanese ancestry participate in the political affairs of Hawaii? How is their interest expressed, and how effective is such expression? What pattern of political activity prevails among them?

Since foreign born Chinese and Japanese are ineligible to naturalization under the laws of the United States the voters are with small exception<sup>1</sup> native born. In 1930 there were 19,711 Chinese and 91,185 Japanese reported as native born, that is 72.5 per cent of all resident Chinese and 65.3 per cent of all Japanese. All of these are citizens except a few thousand women who had lost their American citizenship by marrying aliens. But the numbers of adult native born were, of course, much smaller. There were in 1930 6,819 Chinese and 13,058 Japanese reported as native born and 21 years old or over. Of all adult Chinese 48.3 per cent were native born and of the Japanese, 21.4 per cent.

Taking into account the loss of citizenship of some women by marriage, Dr. Romanzo Adams has estimated that in 1930, there were 6,398 citizens of Chinese ancestry "mainly eligible to vote" and 9,759 of Japanese ancestry. That is, 10.7 per cent of all eligible to vote were Chinese and 15.3 per cent were Japanese.

Since that time the numbers of adult citizens have increased considerably, more in the case of the Japanese than in the case of the Chinese. In 1936 the Chinese cast 5,701 votes or 8.9 per cent of all votes, and the Japanese, 16,215 votes or 25.2 per cent of all votes cast at that election. The Chinese percentage has about reached its maximum, but that of the Japanese may be expected to increase for several years, in time reaching approximately one third of the total.

The extent to which these new classes of voters are interested in the exercises of their franchise may be measured roughly by the per cent of the eligibles who take the trouble to register and to vote. In this connection it is necessary to remember that the political organization of each political party actively seeks to win and bring out as many votes as possible from each new group as soon as its numbers are large enough to attract attention.

To what extent have the eligible Chinese and Japanese registered and voted? According to estimates of Dr. Romanzo Adams, 69 per cent of the Chinese, 71 per cent of the Japanese, and 82 per cent of all races who were "mainly eligible to vote" became registered voters in 1930. Of this number of registered voters 84 per cent of the Chinese, 86 per cent of the Japanese, and 83 per cent of all races actually voted.

It may be observed generally that as new groups enter the vot-

<sup>1</sup> There are a few aged Chinese who were naturalized in the days of the Kingdom of Hawaii. These became citizens of the Republic of Hawaii and later citizens of the United States.

ing lists they are comparatively indifferent. When for example there were only a few hundred or even one or two thousand Chinese or Japanese eligibles, no one paid much attention to them and the number of registrants was relatively small. But in the more recent elections they have participated as actively as the average—have supplied a part of the candidates and have registered and voted in normal proportions.

The party affiliation of the Chinese and the Japanese is not well known. About the only thing that is clear is that both groups are divided between the two parties, but in no constant proportion. Under the circumstances one would not expect to find that these new voters, without any family tradition of voting or other political activity, would manifest strong party loyalty such as one finds among some Americans whose party allegiance runs back through several generations.

When party workers were questioned concerning this, their answers differed widely, being influenced apparently by both experience and personal bias. Probably most of the answers were stereotypes used for propaganda purposes.

Do the Chinese and the Japanese vote as racial blocks? The answer to this question is that there may be an incipient tendency on the part of inexperienced politicians to secure the support of their own racial groups as a solid block, but that these efforts are quite regularly characterized by failure—may be not one hundred per cent failure but only ninety five per cent. A shrewd politician knows that where there are nearly a dozen voting groups, none having a majority or even a near-majority, he must secure support widely among all groups if he is to win.

Nevertheless the efforts of amateur politicians attracts attention to the question. The Japanese interviewed were in agreement that there was no danger of block voting among the Japanese, but that there was danger in the case of the Chinese. The Chinese thought that there was very little tendency toward block voting in their group, but they had the Japanese under suspicion. The one point in which the Chinese and Japanese agreed was in the belief that the greatest amount of block voting is done by the *haole*.

How well are the new voters, the Chinese and Japanese, organized? The experience of the Chinese runs back a little further than that of the Japanese. Some of the Chinese voters are older than any of the Japanese. Relative to numbers, they have supplied more candidates and they hold more elective offices and more appointive positions. But Chinese leaders think that their people are not so well organized as the Japanese. They impute to the Japanese great political shrewdness. The Japanese leaders, however, give the Chinese credit for superior organizing ability and point to their political success as evidence.

Patronage is always a factor. While it is doubtless true that some young men are interested in politics from the standpoint of civic betterment while others may seek to enhance their prestige, it is the desire for jobs that provide the main incentive in case of most political workers. Since each political party controls some of the patronage, ordinarily the tendency is for the new job seeker to

line up some with one party and some with others, and so the group becomes divided and organized into both parties but without a strong sense of party loyalty.

## JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

DOUGLAS YAMAMURA

This is a statistical study of 275 cases before the juvenile court of Honolulu for 1935, made with the view of summarizing data on the nature of offenses, the types of offenders, and the social background of the offenders. Much significant work has been done in the field of juvenile delinquency. With the recognition that a large number of our adult crimes have their source in juvenile problems which have been unsolved in adolescence, social work and guidance have been applied to the treatment of juvenile delinquents. Numerous theories regarding the cause of and the "cures" for delinquency have been advanced. Whatever the theories may be, facts clearly indicate a multiplicity of causes rather than a single cause of delinquency. There is an interplay of various factors, many of which are not apparent, and each case differs with environment, personality traits, economic status, and other factors. Delinquency "grows out of the total situation of which the child is a part . . . Data do not support the conclusion that delinquency is predetermined biologically."<sup>1</sup>

In studying the juvenile court records, the writer has had to cope with certain inadequacies and shortcomings of the records.<sup>2</sup> In the first place every misdemeanor cannot be reported with entire accuracy and the offenders are by no means always caught. The ordinary layman is likely to judge our crime situation by the number of cases that come before our court. The figures of the courts do not, however, give us an accurate picture of delinquency in the city. In the course of investigation, the writer found that more than 75% of the cases brought to the juvenile probation officers for certain offenses were released without court action. These cases were settled out of court.<sup>3</sup> Even if one considers these cases, one would still have a rather incomplete picture of the total situation. There still remains a large percentage who commit offenses of all kinds, but are never caught. Therefore, statistics can only give us an approximation as to the number of crimes and the number and character of our delinquents. Another rather evident inadequacy is the meager information and even the lack of information about those offenders who are known. Often it is impossible

1 Reckless & Smith, "Juvenile Delinquency", 1932, pp. 9-10

2 The inadequacies mentioned are not necessarily reflections on the local system, but represent a criticism of the shortcomings of the statistical method of study.

3 It is important to note that there is an increased awareness on the part of social workers and juvenile courts of the deleterious effects of putting a young child through court procedures. Consequently, all cases that can be settled out of court are so taken care of by "referees" and individuals other than the judge. The juvenile court of Honolulu makes use of this method to a limited extent.

to be certain of all statements of the accused person. Summaries are frequently colored by juvenile probation officer's theories as to the cause of and cures for delinquency. These are rather evident shortcomings of a statistical approach to the study of juvenile delinquency.

The juvenile delinquents have often been labeled "dumb". The inability to get along in the classroom has often been associated with delinquency. A certain school teacher in commenting on the behavior of a declared delinquent said, "I always knew Manuel would do such things. He never did his school work well." Mental deficiency has been closely connected with misconduct. However, in the study of 275 cases, the ratings given by the teachers show a rather normal distribution of good, fair, and poor students. There were 29 good students, 109 average students, and 72 poor students. If one were to make a finer distinction among the three classes, it would approximate the normal distribution curve of any group of non-delinquent children. The juvenile delinquent is not always a mental type, but is usually a rather normal child gone astray. "The term juvenile delinquent merely denotes a child who has been acted upon officially by police officers or court authorities and does not signify a type of case generically different from cases of non-delinquent problem children or those children whose problems have not been officially recognized." The statement, "save for the grace of God anyone of us may be termed delinquent," perhaps expresses a broad view of the relativeness of the term juvenile delinquent.<sup>4</sup>

Statistics from many sources prove that girls are less often juvenile offenders than boys. Although the sex ratio of boys to girls in the general population is approximately 1:1, various studies in the delinquent group have shown that the ratio of boys to girls vary from 2:1 to 10:1.<sup>5</sup> The court record of the juvenile court of Honolulu for 1935 shows that there were 255 male offenders as compared to 128 female offenders, which corresponds to the above patterns of delinquency. Sex differences in delinquency depend on a number of circumstances, such as the fact that gangs are chiefly made up of boys, rarely girls, and the boys are given a greater amount of freedom by parents, whereas the girls are under closer supervision.

There seems at first glance to be no particular significance in the age composition of the juvenile delinquent group. According to the study of 275 cases before the juvenile court of Honolulu in 1935 there is a concentration between the ages 12 to 17 with the greatest concentration at the ages 14 and 15. There were 56 offenders who were 14 and 49 who were 15. In a more detailed study of 100 cases, 30 of which were girl delinquents, the greatest concentration in age centered from 14 to 17 years. This statistical evidence supported by various studies in other cities indicate the juvenile delinquency is a problem of early adolescence.<sup>6</sup>

4 Reckless & Smith, "Juvenile Delinquency," pg. 13

5 Ibid, pg. 55

6 T. E. Sullenger, "Social Determinants of Juvenile Delinquency," 1936, pg. 360, and Reckless & Smith, "Juvenile Delinquency", 1932, pp. 34-35.



The court records show that sexes differ in the type of offenses. Offenses against property, such as larceny, burglary, etc., predominate in the group of male offenders, whereas sex delinquencies predominate in the female group. Sex maturity at an earlier age and the biological factor of sexual attraction may explain partially the tendency of sex offense on the part of the girls. The closer supervision of the behavior of girls and pregnancy makes it possible that in comparison to boys a higher percentage of girl offenders are apprehended and this may account for the statistical evidence of the tendency of sex offense on the part of girls. The low ratio of boys charged with sex offenses is due in part to the fact that these offenses are usually committed by boys who are no longer under the jurisdiction of the juvenile division. The male tendency towards larceny and offense against property can partly be explained by the traditional expectation that they manage their own affairs at an earlier age than do the girls. Consequently they are given more opportunity and freedom. The traditional place of the girl is at home, unless she is earning part of the family's support. Even when employed, she is expected to be under the control of her elders more than the average boy is.

The most important influence in the behavior of the child is the home. The home operates for a longer period of time than any other social influence over the child and takes care of the earlier years of childhood when character is being formed. The home environment is the outstanding social background of the individual offender. Here one finds the warmth and understanding of primary group relationships. The child is guided socially and morally by the definitions of the family. The factor of broken homes accordingly plays an important part in delinquency. Out of 275 cases studied, 160 or nearly 60% came from broken homes. In families with step-parents, we find the greatest concentration of delinquents with 80 offenders or 50% of the offenders that came from broken homes. The reasons are obvious. The child may resent the presence of the intruder in his home. He may not be able to adjust to the step-parent's way of doing things. There may be a lack of the warmth, sympathy, and understanding that usually exist between parents and children. Very often the step-parents are not very tolerant and they probably develop antagonizing attitudes, and possibly with the coming of their own children antagonism is accentuated. The step-parents may show favoritism to their own child and ignore the step-child. These minor conflicts between the child and his step-parents may be a source of constant irritation and may culminate in the overt act of delinquency. The child's suppressed grievances against his step-parents may be compensated by certain acts of delinquency.

The economic situation of the home has some definite relation to delinquency. Poorer families are usually larger. In the statistics compiled from our court records, 157 out of 275 cases had an income of less than \$50 a month—incomes ranging from no income to \$50 with the average ranging between 20 and 30 dollars. Another index of economic status is the amount of rent paid, which gives one an idea of the social surrounding, the type of housing,

etc. One hundred and twenty-seven out of the 275 cases paid rentals under \$20 a month—rents ranging from no rent (11 lived in makeshift shacks and paid no rent) to \$20. One hundred and fifty-five paid rentals under \$30 a month. Out of the 157 families that had incomes of less than \$50 a month, 115 families had six or more members each, the upper limit being 15 in the family. Crowded housing conditions are related to economic status. Overcrowded conditions as a single factor is not so significant, but if one considers the emotional tensions in the family, the lack of privacy, etc. it plays a significant part in serious maladjustments leading to delinquency. Crowding, especially in the city, compels the individual to seek relief in street life, thus increasing the opportunities and stimulations for delinquencies.

There is no method by which one can determine the home conditions of the child, especially through court records. In the absence of conclusive data one cannot make any sort of generalization as to the nature of the difficulties arising especially from conflict with parents. Yet evidence presented by children with step-parents indicate the result of unsatisfactory home conditions.

The community patterns of delinquency areas in Honolulu correspond fairly well with the patterns of delinquency areas as conceived by Clifford Shaw in his study of juvenile delinquency in Chicago.<sup>7</sup> We find the greatest number of delinquents in the disorganized areas near the center of the city. In Honolulu, there were 52 cases out of 275 in the Palama district, 43 in the Kakaako district, 28 in the Punchbowl district, and 21 in the lower Nuuanu district. Slight deviations from the pattern are found in the Kalihi district, where there were 43 offenders. This can be explained in part by the disproportionate number of Hawaiians in that district.<sup>8</sup>

The public school supervises a large share of the younger children's waking day than do the parents and therefore is one of the most powerful factors to be considered in the study of juvenile delinquency. "Many criminal careers result from the failure of the school to adjust the curriculum to the individual needs of the children."<sup>9</sup> One of the most frequent preludes to delinquency is truancy. The school often fails to provide adequate stimulation

7 "This study indicated that school truancy, juvenile delinquency, and adult crime rather than being distributed uniformly throughout the city of Chicago are largely concentrated in certain areas. The highest rates are found in the areas adjacent to the central business districts and the large industrial centers, while the lowest rates occur in the outlying residential community." C. R. Shaw, F. M. Zorbaugh, H. D. McKay and L. S. Cottrell, "Delinquency Areas", 1929, pg. 204 and Clifford Shaw, "Correlation of Rate of Juvenile Delinquency with Certain Indices of Community Organization and Disorganization," Papers and Proceedings of the American Sociological Society, XXII, 1927, pp. 174-179.

8 "The high rate for the Hawaiian is related to the fact that, as a people with a primitive culture a hundred years ago, they have been under the necessity of modifying their mode of life in an extreme degree. Probably the greatest obstacle to their making the needed adjustments is the persistence of old moral standards, standards which may have been worthy of respect in their time, but which put them at a disadvantage in our time . . . . The progress is slow, as it always is where fundamental moral attitudes are concerned." Romanzo Adams, "Peoples of Hawaii", 1933, pg. 50.

9 T. Earl Sullenger, "Social Determinants in Juvenile Delinquency," 1936, pg. 95.



and the child, losing interest in his school work, yet forced by his parents to go to school, yields to the more stimulating activities outside of school and thus stays away from school to wander on the streets and to collect on street corners with other boys.

Parents and the general community often place so much emphasis on scholarship that a child making poor grades is frustrated and gains compensation and recognition by some act of delinquency. Where truancy exists as a well established habit, the child acquires other delinquent habits wandering on the streets, concealing his whereabouts, and often becoming a petty thief.

Many of the cases of delinquency can be traced to the misuse of leisure time. A large proportion of the delinquents were out of school, either because they couldn't get along or because of the lack of money at home. Out of 275 cases, 122 were out of school and of this number only 51, or less than 50%, were employed. Those out of school ranged in ages from 12 to 17. The greatest number left school at the ages of 14 to 16. It is interesting to note that the largest number left school after finishing the 8th grade (27 out of 122 left after finishing this grade). The whole problem seems to center around the misuse of leisure time. If children are absorbed in school work, in play, or in a certain vocation, they have little time or thought for anti-social conduct.

In an attempt to correlate the various factors of delinquency, the data of 100 cases were analyzed in somewhat greater detail.<sup>10</sup> Because larceny and immorality cases predominated, the writer attempted to classify the facts with relation to these two charges. There were 42 cases of larceny, 36 cases of immorality, and 22 other types of offense.

A large majority of the offenders charged with larceny were attending school at the time when they were charged. Thirty of the 42 charged with larceny were still attending school. Only three of the twelve who were out of school were employed at the time of the apprehension. Large families and poverty as factors in delinquency seems to be brought out by the data. Thirty of the cases of larceny came from families of more than six, the upper limit being thirteen in the family. Eighteen of the thirty families of over six persons had incomes of less than \$50 a month with incomes ranging from no income to \$50. In the matter of housing there seems to be no definite evidence of overcrowding in larceny cases as contrasted with rather definite evidence of overcrowding in the cases of immorality. Of the larceny cases, 32 came from broken homes. This suggests that the factor of poverty correlated with a certain amount of tension in the family (this may be in the relationships between step-parent and child), or the lack of parental supervision (where there is only one parent living), and a certain amount of family conflict (between father and mother before divorce, etc.) provides chief basis for delinquency. Another rather significant fact is that in 17 larceny cases the home environment of the child was judged good by the juvenile probation officer and 19 was judged fair as contrasted to only six judged as good homes and

<sup>10</sup> These cases were selected at random from the cases brought up before the court in 1935.

16 as fair in the immorality cases.

A large proportion of the immorality cases were out of school. There were 29 offenders of the 36 charged with immorality who were out of school and only eight of this number were employed. This indicates a certain amount of misuse of leisure on the part of the girls. The girl comes in conflict with the traditional idea of the girl's place in the home and thus she seeks stimulations and excitement, usually in secret, and to gain this end she is usually helped by a male, who is usually much older than she is. This situation implies a conflict between the girl's and parents' ideas of freedom. Exceptions occur in the case of the Hawaiians where these relations appear to be within the mores. In many cases Hawaiian parents knew of the illicit relations of their children but said nothing of it. There were 28 of the 36 cases of immorality coming from families of over six, the upper limit being fifteen. The single factor of size of the family is not significant, but if correlated with economic status and housing, it would have an important bearing as a factor in the cause of delinquency. Twenty of the 28 cases of delinquents coming from families with over six members had incomes of less than \$50 a month, with incomes ranging from no income to \$50. There seem to be definite evidence of overcrowded home conditions in 19 of the 28 families of over six members. Court officers judged twelve of the thirty-six homes from which sex offenders came as poor as contrasted with seven poor homes in the larceny cases.

Many studies of delinquency have brought forth theories of specific determining factors or group of factors, as uncovered by studies of individual cases. Critical, scientific analysis has shown the relative nature of all single factor or group factor explanations. At best these "factors of delinquency" are merely symptoms which reflect the more basic processes and patterns of the community. Every case is an individual case with different forces and factors having different effects on the individual.



## THE LIFE HISTORY: AN APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

PATRICIA WALLACE

In recent years increasing attention has been given to the life history as a method of scientific research. In the social sciences effort has been made to discover a significant means of understanding the person; the life history seems to help one to do this. However, many students still regard it with suspicion and at this time no one knows exactly what final form a life history will take.

There is much confusion today as to what the life history is. It is an attempt to secure from delinquents and criminals detailed autobiographies that will throw light upon the forces that have played a part in the development of their personalities. The life history attempts to define the growth of a person in culture and to analyze and interpret these findings in a systematic manner. Thus it differs from the mere relating of events that happened in one's life—a story any person could write. The life history may be either a biography or an autobiography.

The life history is of value in showing how culture is transmitted. The individual is born into a pre-existing culture. In the process of his growth he will gradually acquire the practices and beliefs of the group in which he lives. This group will determine the language he speaks, his religious beliefs, his moral standards, the clothes he wears and his actions in different life situations. Thus the individual eventually comes to conform to the pattern of the organized social life into which he is born.

However, the individual himself is not lost sight of in this consideration of his cultural milieu. "The behavior document (life history) represents a continuity of experience in life situations. In a good record of this kind we are able to view the behavior reactions in various situations, the emergence of personality traits, the determination of concrete acts and the formation of life policies in their evolution. Perhaps the greatest importance of the behavior document is the opportunity it affords to observe the attitudes of other persons as behavior forming influences, since the most important situations in the development of personality are attitudes and values of other persons."<sup>1</sup>

A study of the individual life history is wide in scope and deserves exhaustive treatment. In the excerpts from a life history which will be treated in this article attention will be confined to the role of the family in the transmission of culture.

The family regarded in its functional sense, or as Professor Burgess says, a "unity of interacting personalities" plays a profound part in the development of the personality of the child. It is in the family that the child is first initiated into the family tradition or culture that has been handed down from generation to generation. The child is born into a family and is utterly dependent upon it. The family has a virtual monopoly of his time for many years and commonly demands a life-long share in his interest and

(1) I. J. Thomas & D. S. Thomas, "The Child in America", 1928, pg. 571.

affection. Thus the life organization and character of a person take their first and their permanent form under the impress of the family cultural heritage.

The family lives as long as there is interaction and when this ceases the family no longer exists. The subtle aspects of family relationships—the conflicts, tension, or attitude which precipitate disorganization or create harmonious relations are significant factors. It is often difficult to discover these subtle aspects of family relationships, for they either are hidden from view by a person or are obscured by other more obvious factors in the case. For example, factors such as poverty and poor housing are of minor importance compared with broken homes, immorality, and faulty parent-child relationships which are not so obvious as facts. Burt found poverty-stricken homes only a little more frequently among delinquents than non-delinquents but defective family relations were more than twice as common, defective discipline more than five times, and vicious homes four times as common.<sup>2</sup> This suggests that the observable shortcomings in the home are merely symptoms of more subtle factors.

In the following life history this delinquent girl did not write her autobiography but gave it orally. The important contribution of this method was that one could get a more or less detailed picture, depending on the degree of rapport that has been established, of the attitude and beliefs of the girl as she saw them. This has a positive value in that the ideas are not colored by the interpretations of the writer. In realizing this value it must also be granted that had there been the "proper" kind of interference instead of letting the girl tell her story her own way, the girl could have presented a more complete story. Another handicap of this method is that the presence of the writer acts as a censor to the girl's thoughts. A written account would have overcome this partly. Still the culture under which the girl lives always places inhibitions even though she is not conscious of this.

The following is an excerpt from the life history of an eighteen years old girl whose forty-two year old mother is Hawaiian-Chinese and whose forty-two year old father is Hawaiian. She has four brothers, 28, 22, and 20 years of age and three sisters, 24, 19, and 13 years old. This story is retold in words that come as near to the girl's expressions as the writer could remember.

"Until I was fifteen years old I lived in the country on the island of Hawaii. I don't like my father and mother, for they don't treat their children right. They're the kind always drink and don't care for us. They act just like they never had any children. I have to do all the work and my sister next to me never do anything. She never goes out in the sun because she wants to be white like haoles. My parents invite everyone over to the house to eat, that's what I call *Kanaka* style. Plenty in the house to eat one day and nothing the next day.

"When I'm *pau* the ninth grade my father won't let me go to school. My mother say I have to help at home.

(2) C. Burt, "The Young Delinquent", pg 51

That time my father has hard time to pay the book fees. Before, my auntie adopt my brother and she wanted me to live with her, but my parents don't want. Every time my folks drink, they start quarrels with me. The way they treat me is worse than an animal. So I run over to my auntie's, but my mother come over and fight with my auntie about me and take me home. Just like that all the time, I go from one to the other."

"After I quit school I had nothing to do in my spare time, so I go down to the wharf with my girl friends. We talk to the boys down there and sometimes meet soldiers and sailors. That's how I got put under the court."

"After that I went to live with my sister 'D', who is married, but she was just as bad as my parents. She's the kind that drinks too. She treats me mean and makes me do all the work and care for the kids."

"I heard that I had an auntie in Honolulu, who was good and didn't drink, so I wrote to her and ask her if I can live with her. She said yes, so the probation officer got my ticket. I wanted first to go home to say 'good bye' to my mother and father, but the probation officer says 'no', because if I go home my parents won't let me go Honolulu."

"My aunt lived in Kakaako way. She had two small kids. That time she lived with Johnnie, her common-law-husband. She married two other men before and had grown up sons. She used to go by two names. When the bill collectors come to the door and ask for Mrs. S., her other husband's name, she tells me to tell him she's not there and I do. I didn't know I'm doing wrong."

"At first I get along swell with my auntie folks, but by and by there's trouble. Johnnie used to joke when we're all sitting at the table eating. He says like this, 'Dora (his wife), I think you're getting too old for me. I better take Helen (the girl) for my wife.' I look at my aunt. At first I don't know if she just lets it pass for a joke, or whether she take it inside to hurt her. Me, I don't want Johnnie, especially when he's my aunt's husband. I like her. But Johnnie, he keeps his teasing up all the time just for joke like, but my aunt, gets more sore and more sore. I feel funny inside over all this fuss."

"Then after a while they start fighting over everything and drinking too. My aunt's big son come home one day and helped himself to the liquor. My aunt try to blame me for the liquor gone. This boy boss me around too. He tells me to wash and iron his trousers so he can go work. I'm scared and have to."

"One time my aunt got money from my uncle for some property. She tells me and says not to tell Johnnie. But Johnnie when she not there, he looks in her purse and finds the letter from my uncle telling about the money. He says to me if I know where the money is. I say, 'What money?' He says for me not to lie for he has the letter,

but still I won't tell him I know. When my auntie comes home, Johnnie asks her about the money. She gets mad and puts the blame on me. I tell her Johnnie finds out where the letter is, but she won't believe. She starts fighting with him and they drink."

"That night my aunt goes choir practice; before I always go with her, but that night I had cramps and fell sick so I stay home and go to bed. Soon as my aunt leave the house the girl next door comes in and tells me my aunt says for her to watch me through the window to see that I didn't go for Johnnie. She said my aunt was the jealous kind!"

"When she left I felt sick. I don't know what to do. As if I cared for Johnnie. I got some iodine and other medicine and mix it up. Just as I was going to drink it I think of my mother and can't. Before that I got out all the pictures and letters from home and read them. I felt I can't stay in that house or I go crazy. So I ran outside and saw my girl friend. She says for me to go see the inter-island steamer off with her. I go because I could tell one of the boys I met coming over to tell my mother to send me some money to come home. Then we came home, but I scared go in the house for I see the light in the window in my aunt's home. I had promise her I meet her after choir practice, but never."

"I don't know where to go, all I know is I can't go in the house. I just walk, first thing I know I'm by the Capital grounds. Pretty soon I notice two soldiers were following me. One says, 'Hi toots, what's the matter?' I'm crying so they knew something is wrong. First I won't talk, but one of the fellows is nice so I do. Then we walk down by the wharf. I try to jump in the harbor, but one of the fellows grabbed me by the dress and pulled me back. He tells me not to be crazy and that when he was small he had a hard time."

This life history is limited in that it only shows the effects of the family as a disorganized group. One son is living with his aunt. This aunt also wants to adopt the girl, but the parents refuse. Nevertheless, the girl spends much of her time at the aunt's home. Parents do not adequately provide the necessities of life for the the children; money is spent on drink.

Emotional tension was strong in the home. Parents continually drank, then quarreled with the children. The girl declared with tears in her eyes her parents "treat their children worse than animals . . . They act just like they don't have any children." Resentment was felt by the girl towards her sister. "I have to do all the work and my sister next to me never do nothing. She never goes out in the sun because she wants to be white like haoles." Reference to her sister wanting to be white like a haole may show the girl's resentment towards or envy of haoles as well as of her sister.

The family situation was also closely related to the develop-

ment of the girl's delinquent career. The father could not afford to send the girl to school, so she spent her leisure time at the wharf in Hilo with her girl friends talking to any boys they chanced to meet. The disorganized family situation also sent the girls to Honolulu. She had an aunt there who did not drink; there was a home that offered security.

This second home also had disorganizing factors, prominent among which was Johnnie, the aunt's common law husband. The presence of the girl in the home set up a tension between the aunt and Johnnie. They sought relief in drink, the very same situation which caused the girl to leave her parents' home and come to her aunt's home, for it seemed free from conflicts and financial insecurity caused by drink.

In turn the aunt's home became a place of emotional strain such as the girl had also experienced in Hilo. The aunt became jealous and suspicious of the girl. Then followed a chain of events—the girl not feeling well enough to go to the choir practice, the neighbor's gossip about the aunt's suspicions, the girl's trip to the boat with a letter for her parents and consequent failure to meet the aunt after choir practice, and the aunt's return home before the girl—all of which created a situation which seemed to confirm the aunt's jealous suspicions. The girl realized this, could not face the situation so fled from it. This flight, the result of a conflicting family situation, in turn started her on a delinquent career.

*The Marginal Man* by Everett V. Stonequist (Charles Scribner's Son, 1937).

The marginal personality is most clearly portrayed in those individuals who are unwittingly initiated into two or more historic traditions, languages, political loyalties, moral codes, or religions. Wherever there are cultural transitions and cultural conflicts there are marginal personalities. The dual social connections of the marginal personality will be reflected in the type of life he leads, the nature of his achievements or failures, his conception of himself, and many of his social attitudes and aspirations. He will be a kind of dual personality.

The most obvious type of marginal man is the person of mixed racial descent. His very biological origin places him between two races. The oldest and most advanced of these mixed bloods in Hawaii are the Caucasian-Hawaiians. Their social position is relatively high, for they are in many cases the descendants of important white and Hawaiian ancestors. Those of good family, education, and means may be accepted in the highest American circles. Those who are closer to their Hawaiian parentage in race, in culture, or in sentiment may find themselves rejected by the white side of their family, and so identify themselves with other part-Hawaiians, thus forming a mixed blood social group. The rise of a mixed-blood population is necessarily conditioned by the migration and contact of different racial stocks. The mixed-blood is therefore also of mixed culture.

As the children of the Oriental immigrants become Americanized culture conflict arises within the family.

## LIFE STORY OF A FILIPINO IMMIGRANT

DOLORES QUINTO

"Yes, God has more than been good to me. He has made my experience the bitter as well as the sweet, and thereby has made my life richer. I have seen my children grow up and have done my duty in having them married to their right mates. Now, people think that ten children are too many to raise, but it is nothing compared to being raised among sixteen children."

"Grandfather," I said, "your life indeed must have been fascinating and colorful, but you have kept it only to yourself. Why don't you tell me about your past? If you were to die, no one would know very much about you."

"No one knows much about me here, for those who came with me to Hawaii have long been dead or have gone home to the Philippines. I was among the first of our nationality to come here. I have not said much about my past for no one has asked me. If you really wish to know something about my past, I don't see any reason why you can't. However, you must keep your eye on the clock for we must go to bed early so as to be fit to work in the morning. Only through hard work can all things be possible."

*Life in the Home Country.* "I was born in Bulac, Cebu. I was the ninth of sixteen children. As no one particularly cared about taking the dates of births in those days I have no knowledge as to what year I was born. I suppose I must be at least sixty or sixty-five years old now. My eldest child is forty-five. If I added fifteen or twenty years that will make just about the right age.

"There was a time when my ancestors owned almost the whole town of Bulac and the surrounding villages. But when the Americans came, conditions changed. Little by little my father's lands were sold. My share was mortgaged finally to keep the family from starvation and I soon found myself tilling the soil as did the poor Filipino peasants. I planted vegetables, rice, coffee, coconuts, sweet potatoes, bananas, and all kinds of things to get something to eat for my family and my three children.

"I was very young then but I had to work very hard for my living. I tried to raise chickens, but as everyone raised them, it was not often that I could get money for them. It was only when a stranger came to the village that I was able to sell them. Life was the same every day—I worked out of doors in the hot sun from five in the morning to very late in the afternoon. My sole ambition was to save enough money to pay back the mortgage on my land. In the Philippines a man is considered independent and is looked upon with respect by his neighbors if he possesses land. The amount of land possessed by a person determined his social status and wealth. My forefathers had always been wealthy and were respected citizens of the village. Therefore, I was anxious to uphold our family name and role in the community. To work there in the fields with the common peasants was a great disgrace and disaster to my family.

"Though I worked hard daily, half of what I made I gave to

my master as every tenant had to do. Therefore, my financial affairs were discouraging and most disappointing. What I grew was sold to the market center in the city but little money was gotten as money was so very scarce in the Philippines at that time.

"It was not until my fourth child was born that I decided to change my mode of living. I still did not give up the thought of getting back the land which truly belonged to me. One day I told my wife I would go to the city of Cebu, the capital of the island on which we lived, to get a better livelihood for the family. I was in hopes of striking something that would bring me good fortune. I was loath to send her with the four children back to my mother-in-law until I could afford to bring them to the city with me. I knew I could always find work for I was blessed with a strong body and quick wit. Many years of my childhood had been spent in the city. There I learned to play the piano so well that everyone thought I would take up music for my life profession, but I had another plan. I had also been good at dramatics. I was, therefore, very confident of my success in making a good livelihood in the city. So, filled with the great enthusiasm and optimism possessed by youth, I went to the city to seek my fortune.

"There I lived with my second cousin for three months, teaching the piano to wealthy students, and getting odd jobs whenever it was possible. As there were only a few wealthy people in the city, I could barely subsist on my meager income.

"One day when I was just about the end of my rope, two well-dressed men arrived in the city from Hawaii. They were royally welcomed by everyone. The fact that they had come from Hawaii gave them great distinction and they were greatly envied by the inhabitants. News spread that these men brought great fortune home with them as everything they bought was paid for with cash no matter how high the price was. One of them was always jingling the silver pieces in his pockets. As money was very scarce the inhabitants truly believed everything that was said about the wealth of these strangers. Whatever stories about Hawaii were told by these men were sure to be the subject of conversation in every household. Although there was hardly a newspaper in the city everyone seemed to know everything that went on. It was rumored that the strangers had come to Cebu for the main purpose of buying a great number of acres of land of the richest soil and the best crops in the city. A house of two stories made of real lumber instead of bamboo was going to be built. As both the strangers were bachelors there was a possibility that they would pick for their mates the best-looking maidens of the town. Sure enough, what had been expected happened. But instead of remaining to live in Cebu, both announced that they would go back to Hawaii. If anyone wanted to go along with them, he could do so if each paid ten pesos, or five dollars in American money. There was plenty of gold paid to laborers in Hawaii, they said. No one need worry about clothes or having to work hard for them either. People lived in houses made of lumber, a luxury which only wealthy people could enjoy in the Philippines. People could not believe that water could be gotten by turning a little handle instead of drawing

it from a spring. A person working for a few months was able to own a car of his own, which would be able to take him around the island of Oahu in only a few hours. Everyone became fascinated by the tales told them of Hawaii. True!—the community had heard more or less that Hawaii was the land of gold and wealth, as many families in the city had received as large sums as twenty-dollar bills from their sons or married daughters, yet no one said much about going there himself until the two strangers stirred everyone with fascinating and sensational stories. A week was given to everyone wanting to go to Hawaii to pay ten pesos for the boat fare.

"Of course I lost no time in making up my mind to go along. I wanted a taste of something new. Perhaps to live in a new community would give me the chance to make good that I had always dreamed of ever since my childhood. Of course I could not go without taking my wife and children with me, but where would I get my money to pay our passage? I went to the home of my wife as soon as I could to tell the family of my decision. Of course the whole family was against my impulsiveness. My mother-in-law began to pray to Saint Filomena to bring me back to my senses and to guide me in the right path. Her prayers were in vain for I had made my mind I would go the following week even if I had to leave my family. My wife at first was opposed to my plan but as usual her desire to get the best for our children made her consent to my plans. Her beautiful jewels which my parents and her parents gave her for her wedding dowry were sold at the lowest price. Her beautiful and expensive Filipino dresses and slippers were likewise disposed of to purchasers. We had altogether about a hundred dollars in American money for her things.

"It certainly isn't very much, is it, grandfather? You couldn't go very far with that sum here in Hawaii."

"No, not here, but in the Philippines this was a big amount for such a bankrupt family as we were. To sell one's jewels and clothes is the greatest catastrophe that could ever befall anyone. The people believe that to strip one's self by selling one's jewels or clothes is a sign of disfavor with the saints, for the person is sure to be poor the rest of his life. But in time of emergency both my wife and I pretended we did not believe such superstitions, yet one day I found her sobbing. I did not ask her any questions for I could guess. Right then and there I gritted my teeth the harder and made a vow that before I returned to the Philippines I would be wealthy, and my wife and children would have the best opportunities life could offer them.

"One week later about thirty people sailed on a little boat from Cebu for the capital city of Manila. Only five families had sailed with us. The rest were young fellows of nineteen and in the early twenties.

"Great was our horror when it was rumored that the two strangers had disappeared after a few days of our stay in Manila. They had left us at a little hotel under their names. We were to wait for two days at the hotel as the boat for Hawaii would not leave until the third day. When for two days the strangers had not returned, everyone became furious. A great riot started in our band of thir-

ty and great terror struck everyone as almost everyone had come to Manila penniless. There was talk of the two strangers being professional thieves. It was said by some that immediately after our arrival the two strangers had been caught by the police for great fraud. My wife, I knew, had lost faith in me, and wanted to go back to her parents, as only bad luck could happen to us. I tried to calm her fears by imagining and picturing to her all the things she would be blessed with when we got to Hawaii, the land of pure gold and silver.

"Can't you see Richardo marrying a *mistisa* (part-white maiden), for surely he is as handsome as his father and any pretty girl will marry him with his good education and money. Just think, our little boy, Conchita, will be sent to America some day, who knows, maybe to tour around. Perhaps we'll all get to tour Europe. You've always wanted to see other parts of the world."

"Of course," she answered, "but I didn't have any children to think of at that time. I am ever ready to go with you to die with you in an unknown country, Mariano, but is it right that we should bring our children where we ourselves are not sure of all the tales we have heard! Do you believe a word uttered by these thieves now?"

"We cannot go back empty-handed, Maria. Why, they would laugh at us. It would show that we do not have any backbone, no courage to overcome difficulties. If we wish to be a little better off than our poor parents, and if we wish to see our children live happier lives, then we must not let go our golden opportunity of doing something good for our future. Only in a new land will we be able to carry out our plan of building our future."

"No words of reproach ever passed between us any more. There was nothing else to do but ask our hotel mates information about people going to Hawaii to work. Much to our surprise, we were informed that if we went to the immigration office of Manila the next day, we would be able to sail immediately if we were accepted. The hotel, I found out, housed many such people who wished to sail away to the Hawaiian Islands.

"I can still remember how I felt when I stood among the hundreds of men, all standing in a line, waiting their turn to be examined, to be asked a few questions, and hoping to be accepted so that they might sail for a land quite unknown to everyone. Many were leaving the islands for the first time in their lives, some perhaps never to return. No one knew what destiny or fate awaited him while crossing the ocean and what waited for him at the other end of the earth, yet everyone seemed determined to see the unknown land of golden metal.

"The examination did not take long when once I entered the office. A Filipino man who seemed to be versed in all the dialects of the Philippines sat at one corner of the room asking various questions of the men and translating everything that was said into English. Each man was given a supply of bedding and some clothing according to the size of his family. Each of my children was given three pieces of clothing, a pair of shoes and a hat, and to the grown-ups a big mat and two or three blankets to carry with them

to the boat.

"Although my heart pained when I recall my childhood memories in the islands, something within me urged me to go on. What if I became a failure in work? I asked myself. No, I wouldn't be a failure. Rain or shine my body will have to endure all hardships and difficulties for my children's sake as well as for my family's name. My lands—my future home where my wife and I would live until death should part us all depended on my success.

"At four o'clock the boat sailed from Manila harbor carrying about two hundred or perhaps more Filipino emigrants to a new land which would mould and determine the lives of so many people. We were all ushered to the very bottom of the boat where several families slept on the floor on their mats in one big room. The smell of freight and oil together with Japanese food filled the air as we sat together like a pack of sardines in our room. Different tales concerning Hawaii were the main topics of conversation among the passengers. Some said that Hawaii had great big eagles which swept away children from the very cradles of their homes whenever they were hungry. Everyone had to be careful to shut the doors to escape the eagles. Some said that women and young maidens were often seized from their homes to be mates of bachelors who captured them. Others said that some men were going to be forced to join the army as war among the different countries often ensued, and as the Hawaiian Islands were under the American rule, Hawaii furnished a great number of soldiers to fight for her. It was also said that the different nationalities—the Japanese, the Puerto Ricans, and others often had feuds among each other due to the keen competition for superiority. But despite all the terrible stories about Hawaii everyone seemed determined to continue his journey. Only a few said they would return if they could to their own cities, but since they were under contract they were afraid they could not do so. A man and his sweetheart threatened to run away as soon as they could land at a suitable distance from their parents. Your grandmother was a very good actress all through the trip, for although I knew that she was against our coming yet she said no word of discouragement but was ever ready with her kind words and smiles of encouragement and cheerfulness. She has been dead for a good many years now, yet I know she must still be with us, watching and guiding us to the right way of life.

"The boat journey was very trying. The smell of machines and food was enough to make everyone sick. One by one became seasick for lack of pure air. No one was allowed to go upstairs on deck. Food was placed and served in a great bucket and the taste was very oriental. Everyone ate bread instead of the usual rice for breakfast, food which every hardworking Filipino cannot do without, especially in the morning.

"We remained in Japan for at least a week but no one was allowed to get off the boat, much to the disappointment of everyone. Here the climate became cold and the few blankets supplied to us were not enough to keep us warm. Your grandmother became

very ill, having a very high fever. The two younger babies of mine also caught her fever and the sight of the three lying very limp and withered made me want to curse God. Many of our passengers had also caught the same fever and many were thrown off board without our knowledge until the next day. Two doctors came to see the patients every day but no medicine was given to help the fever.

"I remember clearly now how dizzy I felt but I could not afford to lie down for one moment for fear that I would contract the dreaded fever from your mother. One day four were taken out by the stewards to be placed in a coffin to be thrown overboard. The food which the stewards left in the morning for the passengers was almost untouched even until afternoon. Everyone seemed to throw up everything they possessed inside them. One day I actually saw a Chinese steward serving a bucket of soup which had been vomited in by some sick people not long before. Those who did not know about it ate to keep alive but those who knew of the incident became quite finicky of what they ate in the future.

"No one knew who would go off board next. One by one the passengers left their rooms. One morning two of my babies died one after the other. Then the eldest boy fell ill too. Your grandmother by the will of God became better but she was no more than a sack of bones. I fell ill and could not recognize anyone. The funniest part about our illness is that even to this day no one knows just what kind of sickness we contracted. The two Japanese doctors on the boat never seemed to do anything but stare, which of course was a temptation for the infuriated men to throw them both overboard."

"As we neared the Hawaiian Islands the warm climate seemed to breathe new life into everyone for people began recovering from their illness. Almost two months had passed since our departure from the Philippines but many things had happened. The passengers whom we had regarded as strangers two months ago were no longer as such but became a part of a great family. There were only a mere handful of them left to see the dream island. My sorrow in losing my two young babies was no sufficient punishment for my stubbornness, for my eldest son, the pride of my heart, was with us, but although life was granted him by the saints and God yet he was left helpless as he was no longer able to hear the sound of human voices. I was a stranger in a new land, knowing no one and ignorant of the place I was to live. Oh! the trials and tribulations we went through on the boat was enough to cement a bond among the passengers. The thought of being separated from one another was another great shock to everyone. Some were put on the other islands while a very few of us were taken to the immigration station in Honolulu until the next day where we would be distributed to different plantations. (At the station each of the families was given a supply of new clothing.)

"About ten of us were taken to Ewa plantation.<sup>1</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> Ewa Plantation was incorporated on Jan. 29, 1890. The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association began importing Filipino laborers during the early 1900's when they were threatened with labor shortage.

plantation was only a handful of houses at this time. There were only a very few of our nationality. At that time nearly everyone who worked at all in this plantation lived in one camp. There were Puerto Ricans, Spanish, a handful of Portuguese, Chinese, a few Japanese, and a few Koreans. Each nationality group more or less constituted an exclusive group of its own; no group seemed to mingle with any other. There was only one store kept by a white man for the whole plantation. You could not call the hospital of that time a hospital. It was only a little cottage. Nearly the whole plantation was filled with large algaroba trees which every Filipino seemed to believe contained little people, or ghosts of the old Hawaiians.

"I was first given the job of cutting grass and cutting down some of the shrubs so as to clear the land for the planting of new stalks of cane. Then later on I was promoted to planting cane. I have worked at all kinds of jobs but the worst and the hardest one which I have undertaken was that which we call "hapaiko"<sup>2</sup> Luckily for me, my body was strong and husky, for it was through this work that I was able to save up a few pennies. Working overtime almost doubled my wages every month so that at the end of each month I was sure to get at least eighty or ninety dollars for my hard labor. Almost one half of my salary was paid in gold coin, which of course pleased my wife as she contemplated making jewels with some of them.

"As the years passed on my wife also had a business of her own. Every year there were many Filipino immigrants who joined our camp. There were so many Filipinos that a separate camp was given them. The other nationalities soon had a camp of their own too, a thing which pleased everyone, as not only work was thought of but also parties among the laborers could be held. My wife made almost as much money as I did every month for she began to think of all the Filipino dishes which she so skillfully cooked in our native country. Nearly all the bachelors in our camp flocked to our house to eat. Everyone was assessed fifteen dollars a month for their three meals each day. Besides this she soon gathered a few of the young girls at the Ewa camp to help make Filipino cookies and cakes to sell to the tired hungry laborers when they returned from work in the afternoon. However, people soon had the impression that we were becoming well-to-do and began to borrow money from us, gave us their jewels or their valued possessions, which we kept until the sum of money borrowed was paid with interest. My wife and I took great delight in counting our money every pay day.

"During the strike I became the luna<sup>3</sup> among the Filipinos as I was among the few who did not strike in spite of all the threats against the lives of those who remained.

"I do not know why but I never cared to leave Ewa for any

<sup>2</sup> "Hapaiko" is the Hawaiian word used for carrying cane. Of all work on the plantations, laborers find this hauling of cane on their backs in the hot sun the most unpleasant.

<sup>3</sup> "Luna" is the Hawaiian word for foreman. Among the different jobs on the plantation, this is one of the few positions to which ordinary workers may advance.



other plantations. Roaming around never appealed to my wife, nor to me either since our trip from the Philippines. I have worked here at Ewa for nearly twenty-five years now. I have been in the Philippines about three times, have bought my lands and more than enough, but strange to say, I never want to go back to live there again. My place is with your grandmother here in Ewa where we raised our children and where she chose to be buried. I am no longer a young man who could dare to work at any occupation, but I am not too old to work around the house. Nor am I too old to enjoy the life of being my own boss and master. Now, it is more than too late for us to be chatting. What does the clock say, granddaughter?"

"To bed, grandfather."

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*Americans in Process: A Study of Our Citizens of Oriental Ancestry* by William Carlson Smith (Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1937)

The immigrant cannot divest himself of his cultural heritage as he disembarks at the port of entry; it has shaped his life in the homeland and its influence will persist even in the new country.

"The Chinese and Japanese immigrant have brought with them to America certain of their social institutions that help them meet the new situation in America—the extended family, ancestor worship, marriage, separation of the sexes and other features typical of the Oriental countries. The second generation have inevitably met with conflicts with the older generation in their efforts to depart from the traditional mores and also with the outside community in trying to make their way in the outside world."

The Orientals in Hawaii, where there is a minimum of race prejudice, present a different picture from the adjustment of Chinese and Japanese in California. These differences manifest themselves in attitudes towards interracial marriage and attitudes towards racial hybrids.

Whereas their parents have been largely confined to the plantations, the children, with increasing opportunities in other fields and more education, refuse to go back to the plantations. Plantations have found it necessary to make plantation life more attractive by actual improvement to lure the second generation back to the soil. Young people have also to cope with the problems of status and occupation. Incidents show that the matter of status is defined not so much by race as by occupation.

Where the second generation has wandered from ancestral religion many have found disillusionment in Christianity, for the lessons that they learn in church are not applied to them as individuals by others. However, Christian homes have lessened the problem by making more ready accommodations to American conditions of life.

## ATTITUDES TOWARD INTERRACIAL MARRIAGE IN KONA, HAWAII

ANDREW W. LIND

The willingness of different social groups to intermarry has been suggested as one of the most accurate indices of their assimilability. Those groups which manifest the least hesitation to "marry out," lose their separate racial or cultural identity most rapidly. Thus in Hawaii, of the various immigrant groups, the Portuguese are frequently referred to as the most assimilable because their rate of out-marriage is so high, while the Japanese, who are most disposed to marry among themselves,<sup>1</sup> are thought to be less capable of becoming fused in spirit with the wider Hawaiian community.<sup>2</sup> While this principle fails of universal application, it is consistent enough to give special interest to the attitudes towards inter-racial marriage on the part of the various immigrant groups in Hawaii.

As a part of a larger study<sup>3</sup> of the settlement and assimilation of the Japanese population in the isolated community of Kona, Hawaii, it was decided to include an investigation of the attitudes of the residents towards interracial marriage. The geographic and cultural isolation of this region on the western slopes of Hualalai and Mauna Loa made Kona a particularly desirable location for a study of changing habits of thought. The limited nature of their contacts with other ethnic groups has made the residents all the more uninhibited in their expressions of feeling toward those with whom they are acquainted.

These expressions were obtained through a set of carefully devised schedules submitted to 500 intermediate and high school students at Konawaena public school. Based in part upon forms used earlier by Dr. Everett Stonequist and Mr. Jitsuichi Masuoka, this schedule was designed to secure first, a statistical ranking by the participant of all the conventionally recognized racial groups in Hawaii as to their desirability as marriage mates and, secondly, a free expression of feeling toward each of these groups. Since, however, many of the high school students had had little or no experience with some of these groups, their responses to the second part of the schedule were frequently merely the stereotyped expressions of opinion current in their social group. Although the younger students had naturally given less thought to questions of matrimony than the students in the upper years of high school, all the participants, with possibly a dozen exceptions, answered the questions fully and conscientiously. What the younger students lacked in originality of expression, they more than compensated for in their faithful representation of home attitudes.

1 Adams, Romanzo, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii*, Chapter X, XII.

2 Recent statehood hearings in Hawaii have revealed how widespread is the fear that the Japanese may constitute a separate political and social bloc in the community. The failure of the Japanese to intermarry with other racial groups is one factor which contributes to this fear, however unfounded it may. (Cf. "The Changing Japanese Population of Hawaii", *Supra*.)

3 To be published under the joint authorship of Andrew W. Lind and Shikui Ogura.



Table I. provides a summary of the rank order ratings by Japanese students of the eleven racial groups in Hawaii as to their desirability for marriage mates.

TABLE I

Average Rating Accorded by Japanese Students to Eleven Racial Groups in Hawaii as to Desirability for Marriage Mates.

Groups Rated	Ratings Given By Japanese			
	186 Boys Aged		134 Girls Aged	
	12-15	16-20	12-15	16-20
Japanese .....	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.1
Other Caucasian .....	2.7	2.7	2.5	3.0
Caucasian-Hawaiian .....	4.9	4.6	5.1	4.7
Chinese .....	5.6	4.3	4.2	4.0
Korean .....	5.9	5.6	4.7	4.3
Asiatic-Hawaiian .....	6.8	7.1	6.7	6.8
Spanish .....	6.8	6.6	6.5	7.2
Portuguese .....	6.9	7.0	8.0	7.8
Hawaiian .....	7.0	7.5	7.3	6.8
Puerto Rican .....	8.7	9.5	9.5	9.4
Filipino .....	8.9	9.4	10.2	10.1

There is considerable uniformity in the ratings by all four age and sex groups at either end of the scale, with somewhat greater variation in the ratings of intermediate groups. Thus all groups, with only a few individual exceptions, place the Japanese in first place as being most desirable. The older boys and girls, to a slightly greater degree than the younger, had formed associations outside their own racial group and placed *haoles* (Other Caucasians) and Part-Hawaiians first in a few instances. The eminent desirability of marrying a person of one's own ancestry seemed to most of the students so obvious as to require no additional explanation or justification, but such reasons were recorded as the following: the Japanese are neat (especially by girls), hard working, congenial, obedient; and a considerable number indicated that at least one reason for placing the Japanese in first place was the desire of their parents. In no instance were the Japanese mentioned as being undesirable as marriage mates.

"First of all I prefer a Japanese mate because they more or less have a better understanding of myself than the others which of course will mean a better conduct of the home." (boy, aged 16)

"I chose Japanese because I am a Japanese and Japanese is best nationality everyone likes." (girl, 17)

"Japanese because it is my race, I know their way of living, and besides my parents would object if I marry any other." (girl, 17)

"The reason for my first choice is that she is a Japanese, is wise, and I think that she can take care of children to be good, and all other things that a housemaid should know." (boy, 15)

"I have chosen Japanese for my first choice because I believe the majority of the Japanese have wonderful attitudes and clean manners. I am a person who is very particular in clean manners." (boy, 17)

The *haoles* have also enjoyed a favored position as desired marriage mates in the estimation of the Japanese young people of Kona. Although contacts with the *haoles* have been distinctly limited in Kona, they have generally been pleasant; and all four groups placed the *haoles* in second place. This selection was justified by the boys most frequently on the ground that the *haoles* were "good-looking," and "rich" while the girls stressed in addition their alleged neatness and cleanliness, good education, high plane of living, and "similarity to the Japanese." In general, the *haole* does represent the values toward which the young Japanese are striving and the high rating accorded to them is in part an indication of what the ambitions of the Japanese are. The expectation of marrying the *haole*, however, was evidently very infrequent.

"It is obvious that a *haole* is rather dignified, beautiful, and their physical attraction is very notable. Taking into consideration for money, I would marry a *haole*." (boy, aged 16)

"*Haole* girl, easy to fish them, and most of them are wealthy." (boy, 19)

"The *haole* are talking and doing almost every thing we have learned at school, so we are familiar." (girl, 17)

"The *haole* usually talk good English and they are most rich people." (girl, 17)

"I could marry a *haole* if I must, since I know their manners and living much better than the others." (girl, 17)

The Japanese in Kona have doubtless encountered less than the Honolulu Japanese of what is sometimes called the *haole* "superiority complex," and *haole* rating in Kona was therefore somewhat more favorable than was discovered by Masuoka.<sup>4</sup>

Third place in the marriage rating was accorded the Chinese by all age and sex groups except the younger boys, who placed the Caucasian-Hawaiians in that position. Despite the tension in the Orient, the Chinese are generally admired and appreciated in Kona. Among the important characteristics of the Chinese which have advanced their status among the Japanese as potential marriage mates, the most important is "similarity of race," although this similarity probably is not as great as these young people assumed. Other traits which were commonly mentioned include "friendliness to Japanese", "good cooks" (by boys), and "good character."

<sup>4</sup> Masuoka, Jitsueichi, "Race Preference in Hawaii", American Journal of Sociology, LI (1926), 635-41. Cf. also, Leatrice and Marion Wong, "Attitudes Towards Inter-marriage", Social Process in Hawaii, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 14-17.

"The Chinese are almost like Japanese in nearly everything they do." (girl, aged 17)

"Most of my associates are Japanese and Chinese and I get along nicely with them." (girl, 16)

"People may say that Chinese are not good for Japanese because of the war we're having, but I like Chinese because they are very hospitable, courteous, and friendly; they have personality." (girl, 17)

"I would like to marry a pure bred Chinese girl because they are very good in working and a good cook." (boy, 16)

As least desirable for marriage mates, the groups most commonly mentioned were: first, the Filipinos; second, the Puerto Ricans; and third, the Portuguese by the girls, and the Hawaiians by the boys. The Filipinos, as the most recent arrivals in the region, are of all immigrant groups most inadequately supplied with women, and they suffer the disrepute which commonly attaches itself to such groups. The girls particularly utilize such stereotypes as "dangerous, fierce, and bad reputation" to characterize a group with which they have had little direct contact, but against whom their parents and the community have prejudiced them. The older boys who have come to know the Filipinos as laborers in the coffee fields, are less severe in their judgments.

"I don't like Filipinos because they are lazy and they catch girls." (girl, aged 16)

"The Filipinos are too dangerous to me. If they get a little angry, they might kill us." (girl, 16)

"I don't want Filipino because they are stupid." (boy, 14)

"For my tenth choice I have chosen Filipino because I believe they have not lived up to the normal clean standard of living." (boy, 18)

A somewhat similar set of judgments, some of them attitudes developed out of individual experience and others mere reflections of parental attitudes, were expressed toward the Puerto Ricans, who were most frequently criticized as being "dirty, quarrelsome, lazy, dangerous." The Portuguese enjoy a slightly better reputation with the boys than with the girls, who evidently prefer the native Hawaiians. The relatively high position given the Koreans, especially by the girls, is in significant contrast with the attitudes revealed in Masuoka's study and suggests a greater cordiality in the inter-group relations in Kona than elsewhere in the Territory.

The inevitable question as to whether the Japanese disposition revealed in Table I are reciprocated by the other groups is partially answered in Table II. The significant fact for present purposes

TABLE II.  
Average Rating Accorded by Non-Japanese Students to Eleven Racial Groups in Hawaii as to Desirability for Marriage Mates

Group Rated	Ratings Given by					
	Part-Hawaiian		Korean		Filipino	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Caucasian-Hawaiian	1.9	2.4	4.0	5.0	6.4	5.4
Other Caucasian	2.7	4.4	2.6	3.5	4.4	4.4
Chinese	3.6	4.4	5.0	2.0	5.8	7.6
Japanese	4.0	3.1	2.8	3.8	2.4	3.8
Hawaiian	4.8	4.4	8.4	8.0	7.4	8.6
Portuguese	5.0	7.4	8.0	8.0	6.8	7.6
Asiatic-Hawaiian	6.3	3.9	7.6	6.6	7.8	6.8
Korean	7.1	9.4	2.6	1.5	8.5	8.6
Spanish	7.8	8.1	7.0	7.6	4.1	2.8
Filipino	8.7	10.6	10.2	10.0	1.7	1.0
Puerto Rican	9.1	9.3	7.8	9.8	10.2	9.0

revealed in the above table is that although each group tends to rate its own as most desirable, the Japanese are placed in second or third position. This is a significantly higher position for the Japanese than they were given by any of the non-Japanese student groups in Honolulu. It appears that in an area such as Kona where the Japanese occupy a more significant place in the community and where contacts may be of an equalitarian character, the attitudes toward the Japanese definitely improve. The desirable marriage attributes of the Japanese mentioned by non-Japanese students in Kona include the following: kindness, good manners, industry, beauty, congeniality, similar race, high mentality.

The dispositions revealed in the foregoing pages have thus far not found expression in actual intermarriages of the Japanese in Kona with other racial groups. During the period 1931-35 the ratio of outmarriage to all marriage of Japanese was 3.9 in Kona as compared with 4.8 in the entire Territory. Other factors such as parental or community pressure, propinquity, and sex ratios affect the actual practice.

